

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

ANNUAL REPORT

1904-5

Agents for the Sale of Books

PUBLISHED BY

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA, CALCUTTA

IN ENGLAND

E. A. ARNOLD, 41 & 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, London, W.

CONSTABLE & Co., 10, Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.

P. S. KING & SON, 2 & 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

H. S. KING & Co., 65, Cornhill, and 9, Pall Mall, London.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, Soho, London, W.

GRINDLAY & Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.

BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.

DEIGHTON BELL & Co., Cambridge.

B. H. BLACKWELL, 50 & 51, Broad Street, Oxford.

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.

W. THACKER & Co., 2, Creed Lane, London, E.C.

ON THE CONTINENT

R. FRIEDLANDER & SOHN, 11, Carlstrasse, Berlin, N. W.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, Leipzig.

KARL W. HIERSEMANN, Leipzig.

ERNEST LEROUX, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

MARTINUS NIJHOFF, The Hague, Holland.

RUDOLF HAUPT, Halle, A. S., Germany.

IN INDIA

THACKER, SPINK & Co., Calcutta and Simla.

NEWMAN & Co., Calcutta.

S. K. LAHIRI & Co., Calcutta.

R. CAMBRAY & Co., Calcutta.

HIGGINBOTHAM & Co., Madras.

V. KALYANARAMA IYER & Co., Madras.

G. A. NATESAN & Co., Madras.

G. MURTHY & Co., Madras.

THOMPSON & Co., Madras.

TEMPLE & Co., Madras.

COMBRIDGE & Co., Madras.

P. R. RAMA IYER & Co., Madras.

A. R. PILLAI & Co., Trivandrum.

THACKER & Co., LD., Bombay.

A. J. COMBRIDGE & Co., Bombay.

D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & Co., Bombay.

RADHABAI ATMARAM SAGOON, Bombay.

SUNDER PANDURANG, Bombay.

GOPAL NARAYAN & Co., Bombay.

N. B. MATHUR, Superintendent, Nazair Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad.

A. CHAND & Co., Lahore.

RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH & SONS, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore.

SUPERINTENDENT, AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, Rangoon.

A. M. & J. FERGUSON, Ceylon.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

ANNUAL REPORT

1904-5



CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1908

A.h. 36

NOTE.

OWING to a mishap to the illustrations accompanying them, two articles relating to excavations in Madras and Burma, which were intended for this volume, have had to be omitted at the last moment. They will find a place in next year's Report.

J. H. M.

Replaced from Pub. Sec. of A.S.I in lieu of original copy.

CONTENTS.

LIST OF PLATES.

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS.



CONSERVATION.

IN the present Report there are only two special articles dealing with conservation—the one relating to the great historic groups of Muhammadan monuments in the United Provinces, Punjab and Ajmīr; the other to various Hindu remains in the Madras Presidency. This deficiency of contributions, however, must not be taken to imply that there has been any flagging on the part of Local Governments in this branch of work. It is due solely to the fact that most of the important operations now in progress form part and parcel of extended campaigns of repair, such as those at Gaur, Māṇḍū, Khajurāha and Bījāpūr, which have already received sufficient notice in previous reports, or which it is inopportune to describe and illustrate at the present juncture. To Mr. Nicholls' description of all that has been done during the past year for the rescue and repair of the Mughal and earlier Moslem monuments in the north of India, there is nothing to be added, nor would it serve any useful purpose to recapitulate more briefly what he has written. A single glance at the photographs accompanying his article will suffice to give the reader a truer and more vivid impression of what has been achieved than any words can do. One point only there is in Mr. Nicholls' article to which I should like to advert. It relates to the much talked of Italian influence said to be traceable in some of Shāh Jahān's great masterpieces of architecture at Agra and Delhi. Every European traveller, who has set foot inside the Tāj, has heard probably the story that it was designed by an Italian architect, and, if he has visited the Fort at Delhi, he has found some tangible evidence to support this legend in the panelled mosaics which ornament the throne of Shāh Jahān there; for one of these panels shows the figure of Orpheus fiddling to a group of listening animals, and the others are no less plainly the creations of an Italian artist. This apocryphal story about the building of the Tāj, which is unhesitatingly accepted year after year by the troops of visitors to India, seems to have originated with Father Manrique. He tells us that Father da Castro of Lahore had recounted to him how a certain Geronimo Verroneo, a Venetian, had been commissioned by Shāh Jahān to design a tomb for the Empress; that "Verroneo obeyed and in a few days produced various models of very fine architecture, showing all the skill of his art; also that, having contented his Majesty in this, he dissatisfied him—according to his barbarous and arrogant pride—by the modesty of his estimates; further that, growing angry, he ordered him to spend three *krors* and to let him know when they were spent." The wild improbabilities involved in this account, which, be it noted, is uncorroborated

by any other evidence and directly contradicted by the testimony of native writings, have been sufficiently exposed by Mr. E. B. Havell in an admirable article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* [1] and there is no need for me to analyse it again; let me add, however,—a point which has escaped Mr. Havell's notice—that Geronimo Verroneo's grave exists to this day in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra and that the date of his death given thereon does not agree with the date given in Father Manrique's account—another proof of the unreliability of the latter.

Even had the legend been less fantastic than it is, its falseness must have been apparent to any critical student of Saracenic architecture; for the Tāj is typical in every feature of the spirit of the Orient, of which it is, perhaps, the highest expression, and above all of the Imperial spirit of the age of Shāh Jahān, when the key-notes of art were graceful simplicity and elegance, and when, as under the Roman principate, marble was everywhere taking the place of coarser materials. But more than this, the Tāj reflects in itself the whole previous history of Mughal architecture and the long development through which that architecture had passed. Let any one, who is familiar with Saracenic art, consider the plan and elevation of this wonderful tomb, let him analyse the lines of its design, let him take its essential features one by one and compare them with those of earlier edifices of the Mughals; and the evolution of them all will be apparent to him. Such a test must surely be conclusive; for it is inconceivable that a European, like Verroneo, imbued as he must have been with the traditions of the Renaissance, could have so completely divested himself of those traditions, and could have entered so intimately into the spirit of an alien style, as to create not only a masterpiece in that style, but one that is true to it in every essential detail. One has but to look at other efforts of European genius in this country to realise the absurdity of such an assumption.

No doubt points of resemblance may be found here and there between Mughal and Renaissance art—such coincidences are not uncommon in other styles of architecture, whose independent development is undoubted—and it would be strange, indeed, if we did not meet with them here. It may be true, too, that the geometric repeat in the screen of the tomb chamber, to which Mr. Nicholls draws attention, suggests direct inspiration from Italy, but, even if such inspiration be granted, no deduction as to the authorship of the tomb can be drawn from it. As Mr. Havell has rightly pointed out, such exchanges of ideas are only to be expected in a time of great artistic activity. There are examples of Italian architecture in which the Oriental element is far more conspicuous, but we do not attribute them therefore to Oriental architects; nor do we argue from the presence of Chinese birds and flowers and clouds on the sculptured sarcophagus of Akbar, that a Chinaman designed his tomb. In the case of this particular screen at the Tāj, moreover, there is the less ground for any deduction from it because the screen appears to have been inserted at a later date in place of a gold and jewelled fence which originally surrounded the sarcophagus of the Empress, and it constitutes no part therefore of the original design.[2] As to the *pietra dura* work of the Tāj, at the most, it is only the technique of this inlay that could possibly have been borrowed from the West, since the designs executed in it are

[1] June 1903, pp. 1039-49.

[2] See Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 589, footnote, and Havell, *loc. cit.*

essentially oriental in character; and even as regards technique, it is more than probable that it originated independently in this country. This view is not a new one, but it has lately received strong confirmation from the discovery, at the Khaljī mausoleum at Māṇḍū, of *pietra dura* work in a rougher and earlier stage than was hitherto known. Nor can the plaques in the Delhi Throne, referred to above, be taken as evidence in this matter. For, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,[1] these panels were, without doubt, made in Italy itself and brought to India all complete; so that they stand on quite a different plane to works of art produced on Indian soil, and afford no substantial proof whatever of the extraneous influences to be looked for in the latter.[2]

In Eastern India, steady progress has been made in the campaign of work at Gaur and Panduah, already noticed in previous Reports. Outside these two capitals of the Bengal Sulṭāns, there is little to chronicle among Muhammadan monuments; indeed, the only other Moslem buildings in Bengal that have been under repair are the old Fort at Munshīganj, in the Dacca District, and the Dargāh of Shāh Nāfah at Monghyr. In the Western Circle, on the other hand, a multitude of works have been in hand, most prominent among them being the repairs to the Ibrāhīm Rauza and Gol Gumbaz at Bījāpūr, and to the tombs of Shāh 'Ālam, Achyut Bībī, and the queens of Aḥmad Shāh at Ahmadabad; to which must be added also some extensive measures of conservation at Dhār and Māṇḍū. One of these undertakings, *viz.*, the repair of the cornice of the Gol Gumbaz at Bījāpūr, has involved a task of exceptional difficulty. The cornice is at an altitude of 90 feet above the ground, and projects 11½ feet from the walls of the tomb, the slabs of which it is composed being supported on brackets, 7½ feet in height, which tail deep into the solid masonry of the walls. In many places, owing to the weakness of the local trap stone used in their construction, both cornice and brackets have given way, and the latter have broken off for the most part flush with the surface of the wall. To have restored these again with the same variety of stone was of course out of the question, and the first problem was to find a stone of similar colour and grain but without veins or cracks. Several stones might have answered the purpose, but they could not be found in sufficiently long lengths, and it looked for some time as if the repairs would have to be carried out in Guledgud sandstone, despite the objection that its whitish colour was ill in keeping with the structure. Then blue stone from Kurla, near Bombay, was proposed and obtained for trial, but, like the local trap, this stone proved to contain a number of cracks and veins and was too soft, moreover, for the purpose. Eventually, an excellent stone was found in the waste lands of the villages of Angar and Mohol in the Sholāpur District. Its hardness, it is true, makes it difficult and expensive to dress, but it is homogeneous in structure, free from cracks, and in other respects all that is desired. Even when the difficulty of the stone had been surmounted, the task before the engineers was not a simple one. The cornice, as I have said, is 90 feet from the ground, and apart from the expense of erecting the ordinary kind of scaffolding, it is doubtful whether, in the absence of openings or projections to which it could be fixed in the bare curtain of the wall, such scaffolding could have been made stable enough for the hoisting of such heavy stones as were

---

[1] *A. S. R.* 1902-03, page 26 *sqq.* The view which I then expressed has since been confirmed by S. Menegatti, a Florentine mosaicista, and a practical expert in Italian marbles.

[2] The presence of these Italian plaques demonstrates trade connexions, but nothing more.

needed. Accordingly a steel cradle was designed, suspended from a number of girders fixed in the arched gallery above the cornices, and, though some timidity was at first manifested by the workmen using this cradle, they soon became used to it and have now gained complete confidence in it. That these and other difficulties, particularly those connected with the removal of the broken brackets imbedded in the walls, should have been so successfully surmounted, is due to the Public Works officers, Mr. R. M. MacFarlane and his assistant Mr. S. V. Rājādhyaksha, to both of whom a debt of gratitude is due for the keen interest they have taken in the work.

Among other structures in Western India that have been under repairs, are the tombs of Burhānu-d-dīn Quṭbu-l-ʿĀlam at Wātwā, of Yār Muḥammad at Khudābād, and of the Kalhorā kings at Hyderabad, besides a variety of buildings at Tatta, Champānir and Dholka, but the bulk of the work done to these as well as to other monuments in the Presidency consists of minor repairs of no special interest, of which the reader may well be spared a detailed description.

The same may be said of most of the work in the Central Provinces, where conservation is in its initial stages, and where consequently it is necessary to go forward with slow and careful steps. By far the most interesting group of Muhammadan monuments in these Provinces is that at Burhānpur. Famous as this place is as the capital of the Fārūqī Dynasty of Khandesh during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the splendid memorials which those independent rulers left behind them are singularly little known; indeed, in Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*—the only text-book of any account that we possess on the subject—they are passed over without a word, doubtless because the author had never seen them; for it is difficult to believe that he could have been silent had he once set eyes on the chaste and stately edifice of the Jāmiʿ Masjid or gazed on the imposing fortress that towers high above the Tapti River. A particular feature of the work at Burhānpur is the rescue of the tombs of Shāh Shujāʿ, Shāh Navāz Khān and several other chiefs from the pitiable squalor and ruin which had overtaken them. And here let me say that the preservation of these and other similar memorials sanctified to the memory of the former rulers of this country is a task which the Government has now accepted among the foremost of its obligations. Their claim, indeed, to be cared for and tended, apart from all considerations of their monumental and aesthetic value, is a special one. Mosques and temples may be expected to appeal equally to-day as when they were built, to the religious instincts and sympathies of the people to whom they belong, but the resting places of dynasties that have passed away have none to care for them, if not the Government on whom the mantle of their power has descended.

Turning to monuments other than Muhammadan, we shall see that some of the most important undertakings have been within the confines of Native States. Most prominent of all is the repair, involving partial reconstruction, of the Tower of Fame at Chitor in the Udaypur State and the systematic conservation of the magnificent group of Hindu and Jain Temples at Khajurāha, in which the Chhatarpur Darbār is being financially assisted by the Imperial Government. The admirable work which Mr. Heinemann, the Engineer in charge, is doing at Chitor, is a matter for peculiar satisfaction, because there seemed a danger at one time that the efforts of the Darbār to save the Tower of Fame from the collapse which threatened

its summit, might result in irretrievably damaging this priceless fabric and at the same time involve the State in an extravagant and purposeless expenditure. The condition of the Tower at the time that it was first taken in hand was this. The whole weight of the ruined *chhatrī*, which formed its crowning storey, was thrown on to one broken and displaced pillar, which, had it but shifted another inch, must inevitably have given way and brought down with it the heavy roof and supports of the *chhatrī* and much of the masonry below. Of the storey beneath, some seven or eight feet of the masonry were dilapidated, but the rest of the Tower was practically intact save for a few cracks, which, there can be little doubt, had been caused by lightning and which did not seriously affect the stability of the masonry. That any one could have judged it necessary to pull down the whole Tower and rebuild it from its foundations, is almost inconceivable; yet such was the advice of the railway Engineer called in to the assistance of the Darbār and such was the advice on which the Darbār would have proceeded to act, had not Lord Curzon intervened. The actual measures afterwards decided on involved dismantling and rebuilding the crowning *chhatrī* (which could not, indeed, be avoided) and a portion also of the storey below; but the whole body of the Tower has been saved from the certain damage which must have attended its reconstruction, however carefully it might have been carried out; and, with the exception of a few clamps put in here and there, it will remain untouched. As regards the work of demolition and restoration, it has been carried out by Mr. Heinemann with praiseworthy care. One by one the stones were sedulously marked and laid on the ground in rings, indicating their precise position in the structure, so that they could be replaced without any possibility of confusion. Many, that were badly cracked, had to be replaced by new ones, and the cutting of these has involved more labour than was anticipated, so that the rebuilding has not yet progressed beyond the floor of the *chhatrī*. Up to this point the work has been straightforward enough, being merely a matter for exceptional care; but, with the erection of the pillars and roof of the *chhatrī*, there is more room for error as the remains are very fragmentary and every detail will have to be set out by the archæological officer before the restoration begins, and much watchfulness exercised while it is in progress.

Owing to its comparative inaccessibility, Khajurāha is less famous than it deserves to be. It was the capital of the great Candella Dynasty, whose kingdom endured from the ninth to the close of the thirteenth century and whose power is amply attested by the wealth and magnificence of the monuments which survive to us both here and elsewhere. Khajurāha itself contains the remains of some thirty temples, most of them referable to the eleventh century of our era. Taken together, these temples are unrivalled in point of form and richness of carving by any other group of kindred monuments in India, though some may be disposed to think that the temples of Orissa are more imposing. A special feature, moreover, which adds vastly to their interest, is that some of them are dedicated to Jainism, some to the worship of Viṣṇu, and some to the worship of Śiva, while Buddhism is represented by several smaller antiquities and possibly also by one shrine—the so-called Ghaṇṭāī Temple. Every member of the group has now been thoroughly

overhauled, a selection made of all the most important and a careful programme drawn up for their conservation. At the same time an experienced Engineer, Mr. F. Manley of Panna State, has been appointed to watch over the work while it is in progress. One particularly valuable result of these repairs will be the removal of the hideously ugly and inappropriate modern porches, which for years past have disfigured the shrines of Devī Jagadambā, Chhatargupta and Ādinātha, as well as of the plastered parapet of the Khaṇḍariya temple. A museum also is being erected on the spot, where all the loose sculptures and carved stones can be housed and cared for, instead of lying about as they have hitherto done, for any curio hunter to carry off or for contractors to use up in the erection of new buildings.

Another important piece of work that has been going forward in Rajputana is the repair of the beautiful Dilwāra Temples at Mount Abu, which was undertaken, at the urgent appeal of Lord Curzon, by the community of Jains in Western India. The cleaning off of unsightly whitewash, the substitution of suitable doors in place of the old red, blue and yellow ones, which used to screen the cells of the Tīrthaṅkaras, and other improvements of a like character are almost mechanical measures, which have involved no difficulty. Far otherwise has it been with the repair of the broken architraves supporting the domes and ceilings. The problem of preserving and supporting such architraves is always a difficult one, but in the case of the Dilwāra Temples, the difficulty was enhanced tenfold owing to the richly sculptured reliefs with which the architraves themselves are adorned, and the extremely fragile character of the delicate marble traceries which enrich the ceilings and domes above them. It was fortunate for the safety of these exquisite decorations that the Jains did not persist in their first intention of putting in new architraves to take the place of the old ones, but agreed, instead, to have the latter supported on steel beams. Even so, the work has proved singularly difficult, and has called for much skill and ingenuity on the part of the Engineer supervising it. Detail notes as to what had to be done were furnished to the Jain Committee by the Archæological Department, but it should be understood that neither the Archæological Department nor the Department of Public Works has had a free hand in controlling or executing the work. At the very outset, the Jains expressed themselves particularly sensitive about allowing any sort of official interference with the Temples, and though they were willing to be guided by advice as to the operations that were necessary, it was only by great persuasion that they were induced to accept the assistance of Major Tilley of the Public Works Department, and then, not as Executive Engineer, but in a purely private capacity.

The undertakings described above by no means represent all that has been done in the Native States towards conservation. The small State of Alī Rājpur in the Bhopawar Agency has taken in hand, with help from Imperial funds, the mediæval temple at Malwai. In Bikānir, the Fort of Hanumāngarh has been under repair, and in Jaipur, the temple at Sanganir, and the shrine of Śrī Gaṅgājī at Gaṅgāpur. To the work at Dhār and Māṇḍū I have already referred in connection with Muhammadan monuments. To the same class belongs also the tomb of Makhdūm Shāh, the conservation of which was completed by the Alwar State. These

and other works that might be mentioned, are a glowing testimony to the interest and enthusiasm for archæological matters which has been awakened in the Chiefs of Rajputana and Central India by the example of the supreme Government, and still more by the personal influence of the Viceroy.

As regards British India, there is comparatively little for me to say in connection with the conservation of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist monuments. The work in the Southern Presidency is sufficiently described in Mr. Rea's separate contribution on the subject, and so far as the Western Circle is concerned, though money has been spent here and there for a variety of objects, such as the up-keep of the cave temples on the western coast and the re-roofing of the Siddheśvara temple at Māndhātā, none of them are of sufficient interest to call for special notice. In Bengal, too, there is comparatively little to chronicle, though the reason in this case is a very different one. Nearly all the funds available were devoted to the excavation and repair of the Black Pagoda at Konārak, and there was little left for other projects. Indeed, the only other items worth mentioning are some repairs at the Buddh-Gaya Temple and the construction of a protective shed over a Buddha statue at Guneri. Let it not be inferred that I would have advocated withdrawing any of the money spent on the Black Pagoda and applying it to other purposes. On the contrary, this magnificent temple appears to me to be more deserving of attention at the present moment than any other monument in Bengal, if not in all India, and every rupee, moreover, that is spent on it brings the Government more than ample return in the splendid remains that are being unearthed there. But the total sum expended at Konārak each year is a very modest one, and it is not much to expect that a little more might be spared for other Hindu buildings, particularly to meet some of the estimates which received administrative sanction as far back as 1902.

Assam possesses few ancient monuments, but what there are, are being sedulously cared for by the Government, and no pains are spared to ensure their preservation. Foremost among these monuments are the group of remains at Dimapur, where the first step has been to repair the broken monolithic columns and clear the whole site from jungle, preparatory to planning out a more thorough programme. The stone of which the columns are composed has unfortunately become very soft and the greatest care has to be exercised in fixing the broken pieces together. In the course of clearing the jungle, a third group of pillars similar in character but differing in certain details from the two groups already known, was discovered, but these pillars unfortunately are too badly damaged to admit of repair, though it may be possible to re-erect one or two pieces as specimens of what the others were like. Closely connected with the remains at Dimapur are the ruins of the so-called "Copper Temple" near Sadiya, which are also undergoing such conservation as their condition will admit of. As regards the name of this temple, Dr. Bloch suggests that the image it contained represented some form of Durgā called "Tāmreśvarī," and that the story of the temple having had a copper roof arose from a misunderstanding of the name. The temple itself stands within a large circuit wall, the inner side of which was adorned with a series of carved tiles originally exceeding a hundred in number. Sixteen of these tiles have now been recovered, some of them being found *in situ*, others buried beneath the débris. The figures carved upon them represent men, animals, birds, flowers and

geometric patterns, and it adds to their interest that they are in the same semi-barbaric style as the stone carvings at Dimapur and other places in Assam. Another link which connects these ruins with Dimapur is to be found in the base and capital of a stone pillar closely analogous to the chessman pillars at that site. A second group of remains, of a character almost identical with those at Dimapur, has been found at Kasomari Pathar, a little way from the Doyang River. Here, there would seem to have been an old city, of which the earthen ramparts and moat are still visible, with several mounds inside them, besides a number of monoliths of the Dimapur type. As to the use to which the peculiar V-shaped columns, characteristic of these sites in Assam, were put, Dr. Bloch is of opinion that the evidence of the mortice holes in the newly discovered examples both at Kasomari Pathar and among the third group at Dimapur supports the view that they were erected as memorials in honour of some hero or to commemorate some event—a view which is also borne out by the custom, still in vogue among the Nāga tribes, of erecting commemorative monuments of this kind, in the shape of single blocks of stone or bifurcated wooden columns. In this connection the following note of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's Secretary, which Dr. Bloch publishes in his Provincial Report, may well bear repetition. "The Chief Commissioner has recently visited the ruins after having marched through the Naga Hills, and has been struck with several points of similarity between the V-shaped pillars and the memorials used by the Naga tribes to commemorate sacrifices. Mr. Fuller found in Sema villages wooden 'shields' cut out in the shape of the letter U, standing 7 or 8 feet high and covered with rough carvings, amongst which were symbols of the Sun, of the Moon, and of lightning. He noticed that these shields all faced the east, and was told on enquiry that for some reason now unknown they were all turned to the rising Sun. In general shape, as well as in being definitely orientated, they were not very unlike the V-shaped stones recently discovered at Dimapur. The Rengma Nagas use rows of stones, of gradually decreasing size. The Chief Commissioner noticed in the Garo Hills wooden pillars, set up before houses in memory of dead relations, which are something of the 'chessman' shape. It may well be that Dimapur is a relic of a stifled development of Tibeto-Burman civilization."

To complete the picture of what has been accomplished during the past year we must pass finally to Burma. Here, consistently with the programme described in my last Report, substantial progress has been made among the array of Buddhist monuments at Pagan, and two more buildings, *viz.*, the Bidagat Taik library and the Nan Paya Temple, have been added to the list of those already in hand. But it is on Mandalay, where the threatened collapse of the Palace Spire called for urgent attention, that the efforts of the Department have been chiefly concentrated. The first sign of any thing being amiss with this Spire was a slight lean in it noticed by the Archæological Superintendent; but the warning was enough, and the examination of its internal structure, which immediately followed, showed its condition to be precarious to a degree, so much so, indeed, that rebuilding was inevitable. The problem, however, to be faced was not a simple one. For, on the one hand it was impossible, owing to structural and essential weaknesses in the Spire, to design a reconstruction on precisely the same lines as those originally followed; on the other, it was out of the question, even if it had been desirable, to lavish on the reconstructed Spire the wealth

of ornament, which had originally embellished it. Eventually, it was decided after careful deliberation that, so far as decoration was concerned, it would have to be confined to regilding the *hti* and *dubikā*, and that the only efficient way of meeting the structural necessities of the case was to substitute iron sheet supports for some of the heavier beams, to introduce lighter metal work into the fabric of the Spire, and to graduate the weight of the superstructure more carefully than it had previously been.

It goes of course without saying that, with such limitations, re-construction, at the best, can give us but a poor substitute for the original fabric, but on the principle of half a loaf being better than no bread, one must needs be content. At least it will preserve for us many parts of the original, which could not otherwise have been saved, and perpetuate a conspicuous and well-known landmark in Mandalay, and one of the chief and most famous memorials of the last royal dynasty of Burma.

In connection with the repairs in the Mandalay Palace, there is one point touched on by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in his Provincial Report, which deserves notice. It relates to the colouring of the royal rooms. In the days of the Burmese kings, it was customary to erect in certain rooms of the palace, intended for the Royal presence or for the highest ministers of the realm, four pillars of equal length supporting a canopy of state, and, in case there were two such rooms in a palace, one behind the other, the inner one appears invariably to have been painted white, and the outer one red—the white colour ranking above either red or gold; but, on occasion, if the outer room was employed for an especially high function, it also might be painted white. Since the days when the Mandalay Palace passed into British hands, this old custom had been lost sight of and both inner and outer rooms painted indiscriminately without reference to the significance of the colours used. Care has now been taken to perpetuate the old usage by restoring to the rooms their original colouring.

J. H. MARSHALL.

CONSERVATION OF MUHAMMADAN MONUMENTS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES AND PUNJAB AND AT AJMER.

MOST of the buildings which will come under consideration in this article are well known and have been fully described on various occasions. My aim will therefore be to give a detailed account of the repairs which have been carried out this year, without entering upon any description, on general lines, of the buildings and their history, unless there seems to be some special reason for doing so.

To works in progress and not yet complete, only a passing reference will be made, as it is felt that the more convenient course is to defer their full description until photographs can be published showing the results attained.

Agra.—The Tāj.

The tank near the Fatḥpurī Masjid.—Conspicuous among the many improvements which have been wrought in the approach to the Tāj during the last few years, is the newly restored tank in front of the Fatḥpurī Masjid (Plate I). Its existence was discovered quite accidentally when the road through the gateway was being regraded a year ago. When the digging was being done, traces of the tank were found, with a fountain in the middle, and some large stones which had evidently belonged to it were found covering an underground drain. The platform containing the tank has now been rebuilt in red sandstone; and a carved balustrade, copied from that which surrounds the courtyard of the Fatḥpurī Masjid above, has been fitted round the edge.

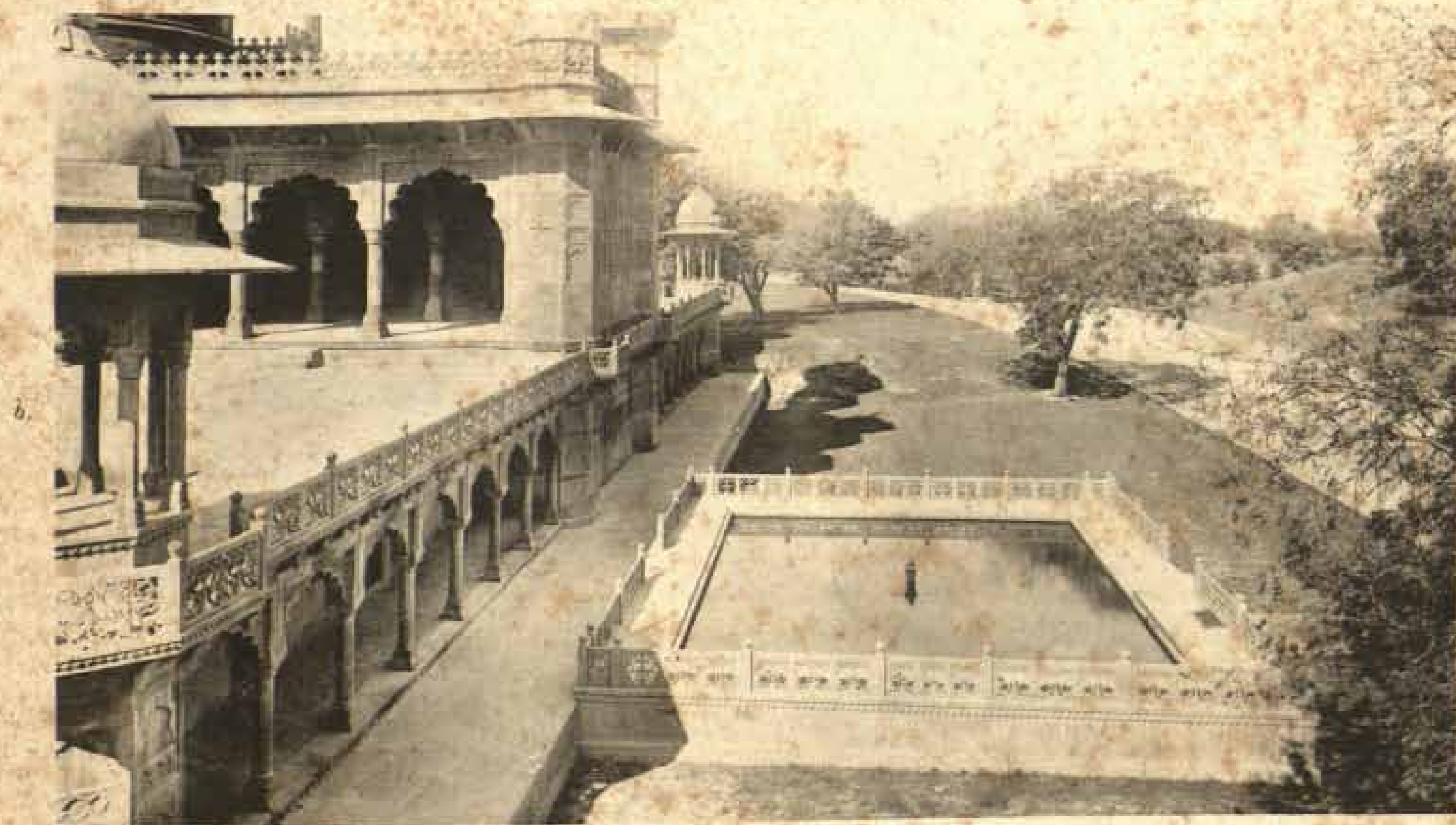
The laying out of the garden of Sahelī Burj No. I was described in last year's report. The next step has been to restore the balustrade indicated by the *mutakka* holes along the east front of the platform on which the Burj stands. Some pieces of *jālī* work which belonged to the old balustrade were dug up in the garden, and these served as a guide for the height and patterns. There are some ruined chambers on the south side of this platform and traces of similar features on the north; but they do not appear to be as old as the platform itself, since the *mutakka* holes run the full length of the platform, and some of them are concealed by the plinth of the ruined buildings.

AGRA: TANK ON NORTH SIDE OF FATHPURĪ MASJID.

PLATE I.

a.

b.



(a) DURING REPAIR. (b) COMPLETED.

The marble was, for the most part, in small pieces, but some of the stones were large, and were wrought and cusped like the soffits of the arches in the Angūrī Bāgh and Motī Masjid.

There is a considerable difference in the level of the Dīwān-i-'Āmm courtyard and that of the higher ground on the west where the Salīmgaṛh stands, but there do not appear to have been any staircases leading up from the courtyard, except in one place near the north-west corner. A new staircase has now been made at the back of the central block of the western cloisters in order to give access to the Salīmgaṛh, a very interesting building which, hitherto, visitors have seldom gone to see.

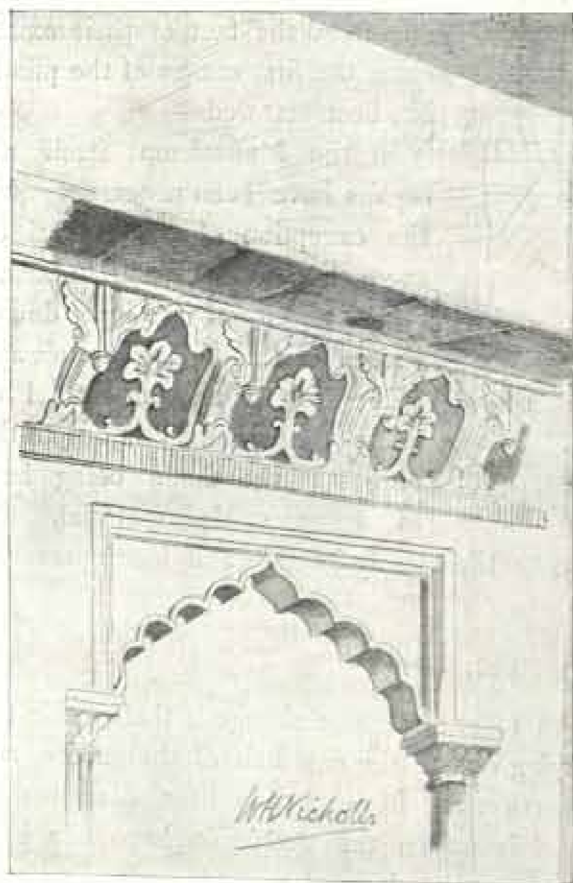


Fig. 3.

In the Hall of Audience the colouring of some of the columns has been resumed on the lines described in my last report. The corner columns of the hall have been very much out of plumb for several years, and as some fresh cracks have recently developed, it is probable that they will be dismantled and rebuilt next year.

Angūrī Bāgh and Macchī Bhawan.—In the Angūrī Bāgh and Macchī Bhawan we have been concerned chiefly with repairs to plaster. The work has been limited to certain parts where there was special justification for it. This is always necessary since plaster repairs are one of those things which workmen are apt to do, not wisely, but too well. Shāh Jahān, in whose time these buildings were erected, was, it is true, no admirer of red sandstone surfaces; if he did not go to the expense of marble, he nearly always covered his buildings with plaster or variegated tiles. Still it is best, as a rule, not to restore gaps in old plaster. Our work is to preserve old buildings, not to renovate them, and time has some effects which it would be a great pity to undo. Sometimes, however, it happens that some precious feature in plaster is in danger of being lost, such as the elaborate coved cornice of the Macchī Bhawan (Fig. 3). On the north side of the quadrangle this cornice has almost entirely disappeared, but a good deal of it remained on the west side, where the missing portions have now been carefully restored.

Jahāngīrī Mahall.—The restoration of the sandstone screens in the bastion at the north-east corner of the Jahāngīrī Mahall has caused a striking improvement in the appearance of the river front, in which this bastion is a prominent feature (Plate III). It marks the point at which Akbar's buildings end and the later ones begin; though, it need hardly be said, the wall and fortifications belong to Akbar's time.

a

b

(a) BEFORE RESTORATION OF THE WEST HALF OF THE QUADRANGLE.
(b) S.W. ANGLE, SHOWING RESTORED ARCADE AND NEW PARAPET AROUND THE WELL.

The illustration in the text (Fig. 4) shows the pattern of one of the restored screens, which was copied from the one original screen that remains on the north side of the bastion. It will be seen that the main lines of the carving consist of a geometrical repeat, flowers being used to fill up the spaces. In some later screens of this kind, notably at the Tāj and Motī Masjid at Agra, the lines of the geometrical repeats bear a curious resemblance to renaissance work. A photograph is given (see page 14) of the beautiful marble screen with perforated panels and inlaid borders under the dome of the Tāj.

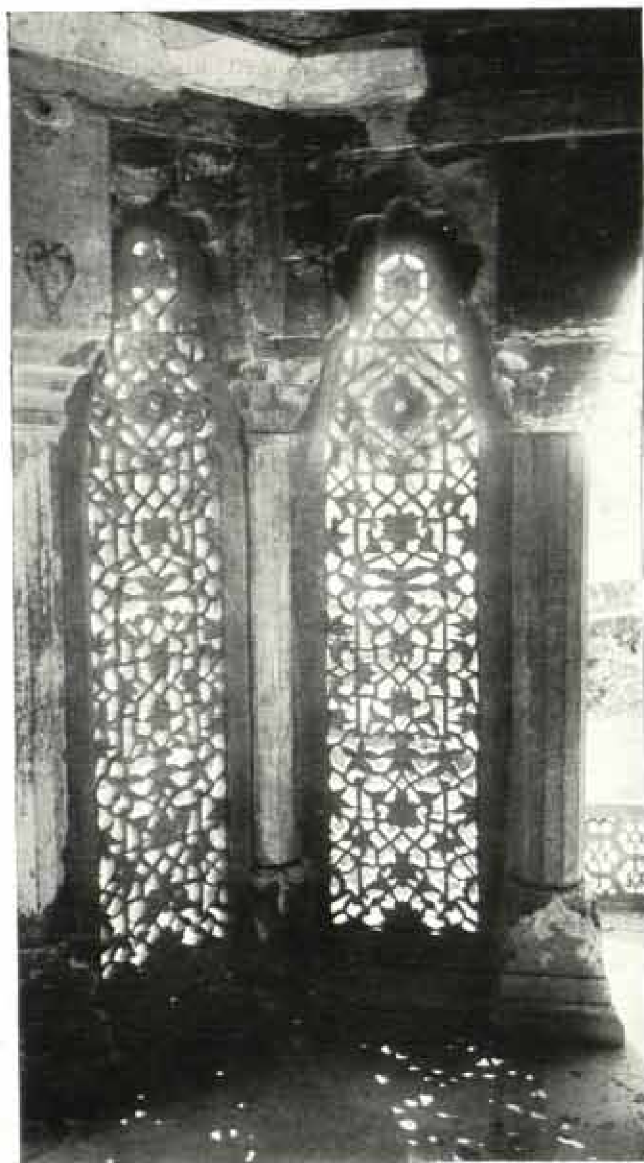


Fig. 4.

In this case the lines of the repeating pattern, shown in the diagram Fig. 6, are much more like Italian renaissance than oriental work; but in view of the tendency which exists to claim Italian influence in the design of the Tāj, I may say that this is the only instance in the Tāj to which I can point as evidence of Italian workmanship.

The extensive repairs which have been carried out during recent years on the east front, and in the interior of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, have already been described. Lately, the partial restoration of the west façade has been taken in hand. Several brackets, panels, and medallions have been restored in sandstone, and a number of marble lotus buds have been replaced in the soffits of the arches. A remarkable feature in the decoration here is the yellow *khattu* stone, which is employed in some of the columns of the balconies flanking the main entrance, and in the spandrels of the central archway.

Khattu stone was extensively used by the Mug͟hals in pavements and inlaid panels, but I know of no other instance where it is used for a whole column.

Motī Masjid.—A new balustrade has been fixed on the flights of steps leading up to the main entrance of the Motī Masjid. It is not known when the original balustrade disappeared, but its place was occupied until last year by a plain modern brick parapet.

In connection with this work the following remarks by Mr. A. C. Polwhele will be of interest:—"On the removal of the brick parapet it was found that very few of the original *mutakka* holes were in existence, but that in most cases where the

mutakkas of the original balustrade had stood, a new patch had been put into the step; the uniform spacing of these patches, however, fixed the length of the panels, and for the pattern it seemed natural to follow that of the balustrade on the balcony adjoining the steps, the panels of which are solid and in every way adaptable to a sloping balustrade. . . . . It was not considered necessary to adhere absolutely to the original position of the *mutakkas*, for this would have involved the renewal of all the

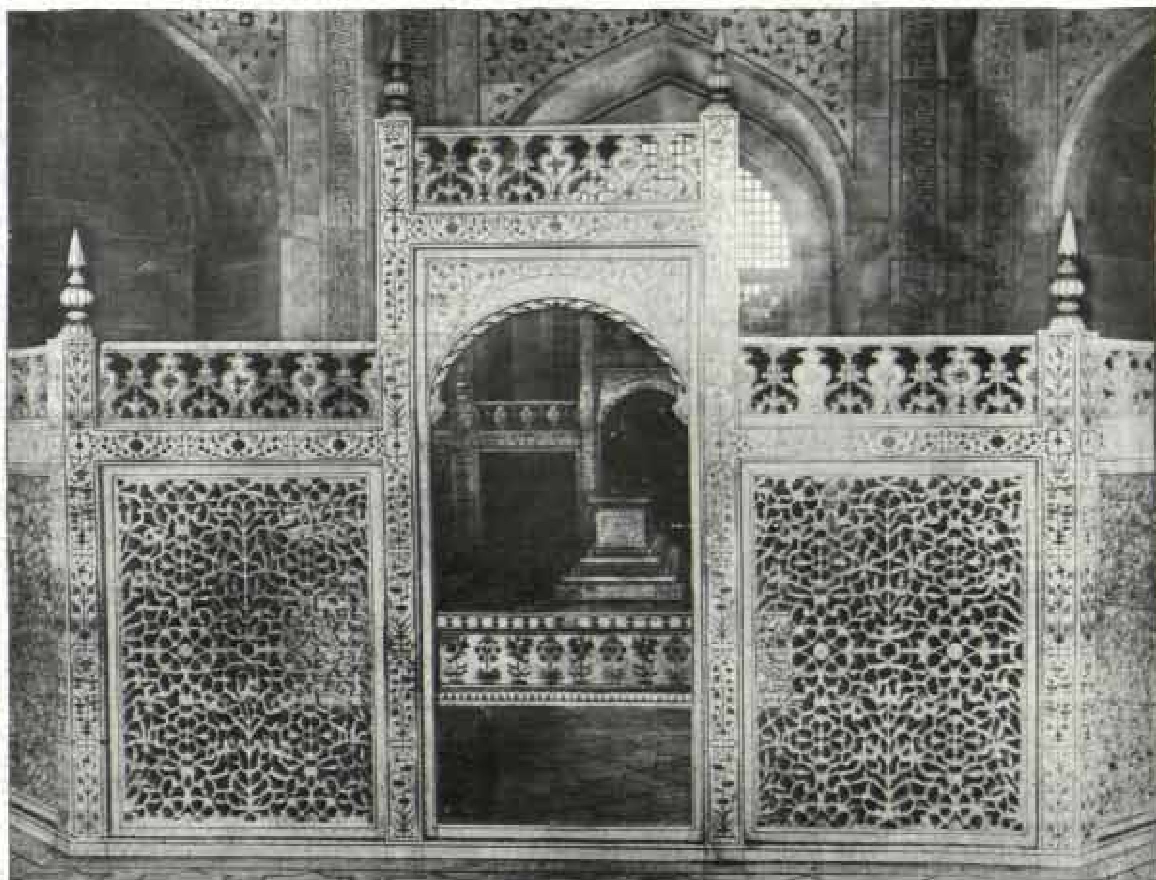


Fig. 5.

patched steps, which are solid blocks of stone 11 feet in length: but by moving each *mutakka* one step, the original spacing has been kept."[1]

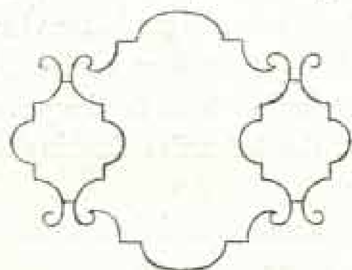


Fig. 6.

Although the staircase can even now hardly be called imposing, there are not many instances in Mughal architecture of steps so successfully treated as these. Generally the Mughals were content with very insignificant and uncomfortable steps. They seem to have been rather ashamed of them and to have wondered where they could put them out of sight, instead of turning them to account and making them an important architectural feature as the Greeks and Romans and their imitators did. Nowhere is this tendency more noticeable than in the Tāj, where the steps leading up to the platform on which the Mausoleum stands are so arranged as to be scarcely visible from any point in the garden.

[1] *cf.* Mr. Polwhele's Report for 1904-05, embodied in the Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1905.

AGRA FORT: NORTH-EAST BASTION OF JAHĀNGĪRĪ MAHALL.



(a) BEFORE RESTORATION OF SCREENS.



(b) AFTER RESTORATION.

The Tomb of I'timādu-d-daulah.—The gardens of I'timādu-d-daulah have been improved by the restoration of some fountains in the tanks, and the old water-channels have been dug out preparatory to their restoration. As the old earthenware pipes were found to be entirely choked with silt it was decided to lay new iron pipes in their stead.

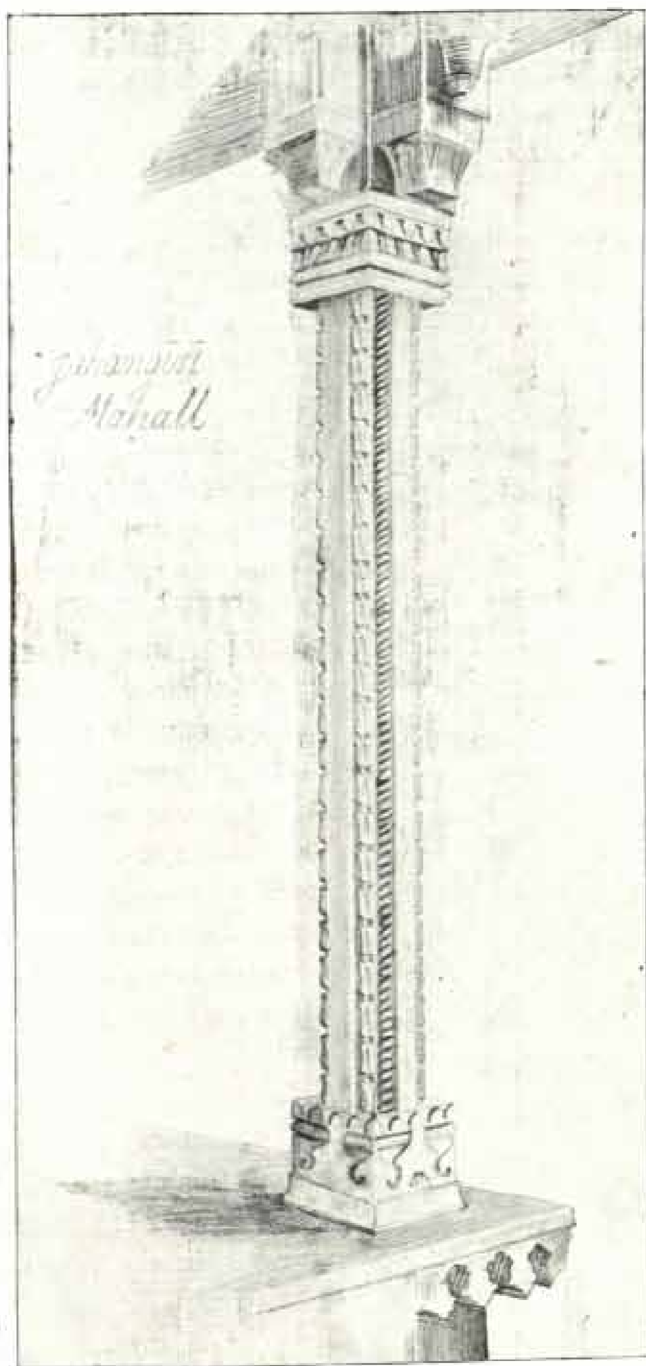


Fig. 7.

Zohra Bāgh Kiosk.—This kiosk (Fig. 8, see page 16) is all that remains of one of the old gardens on the river bank. It is an octagonal tower, of four storeys, built of red sandstone in the early Mughal style. The kiosk possesses the characteristic brackets, and sunk panels ornamented with sculptured vases and cusped arches, which are usually found on buildings of Akbar or Jahāngīr. The brackets and dripstones were particularly shaky, and a certain amount of underpinning was necessary to withstand the encroachment of the Jumna.

Sikandarah.

At Sikandarah the finishing touches have been put to the restoration of the platform and tank in front of the east gate which was mentioned in last year's report. The restoration of the gaps in the causeways in front of this and the west gate was then taken in hand. As a concession to modern requirements, the road which runs round the gardens, inside the walls, has been allowed to cross over the causeways by means of a ramp, instead of cutting through them as it used to do. It is clear that it was not originally intended to have a roadway for wheel traffic anywhere inside the entrance gate; and it is hoped that when the platforms on either side of the south gate have been restored to their original form, the roadway inside the gardens may be done away with.

Fathpūr Sīkrī.

At Fathpūr Sīkrī, the restoration of the city wall has been completed as far as it is proposed to go for the present. Among the palace buildings, a fresh start has been made with the restoration of the mother-of-pearl inlay on the canopy of Salīm Chishtī's tomb. Apart from the fact that a great deal of the inlay is missing, the framework of the canopy is unsound and will require some repairs. An attempt was made some years ago to replace the missing inlay, but the work was stopped owing to the difficulty of procuring mother-of-pearl bearing any resemblance to the old pieces in irridescence. The beautiful appearance of the old work may be partly due to its age, but there is no doubt that such mother-of-pearl is not to be obtained in the market to-day. Still, some of the samples procured by the Engineer were good enough to justify a fresh attempt being made.



Fig. 8.

Another point to notice in connection with this famous tomb is the restoration of one of the marble brackets in the verandah. The spiral shape which is introduced into the spandrels formed by these brackets is very singular. The same kind of treatment, only less elaborate, is found in the Stonecutters mosque on the west side of the *dargāh* of Salīm Chishtī. The idea was evidently borrowed from the trabeated Hindu style which Akbar was fond of imitating.

Beyond these repairs there are only a few minor items to be noticed at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, such as the mending of some portions of the pavement near the Pānch Maḥal and Dīwān-i-khāṣṣ with old slabs of stone removed from the King's stables when they were restored last year.

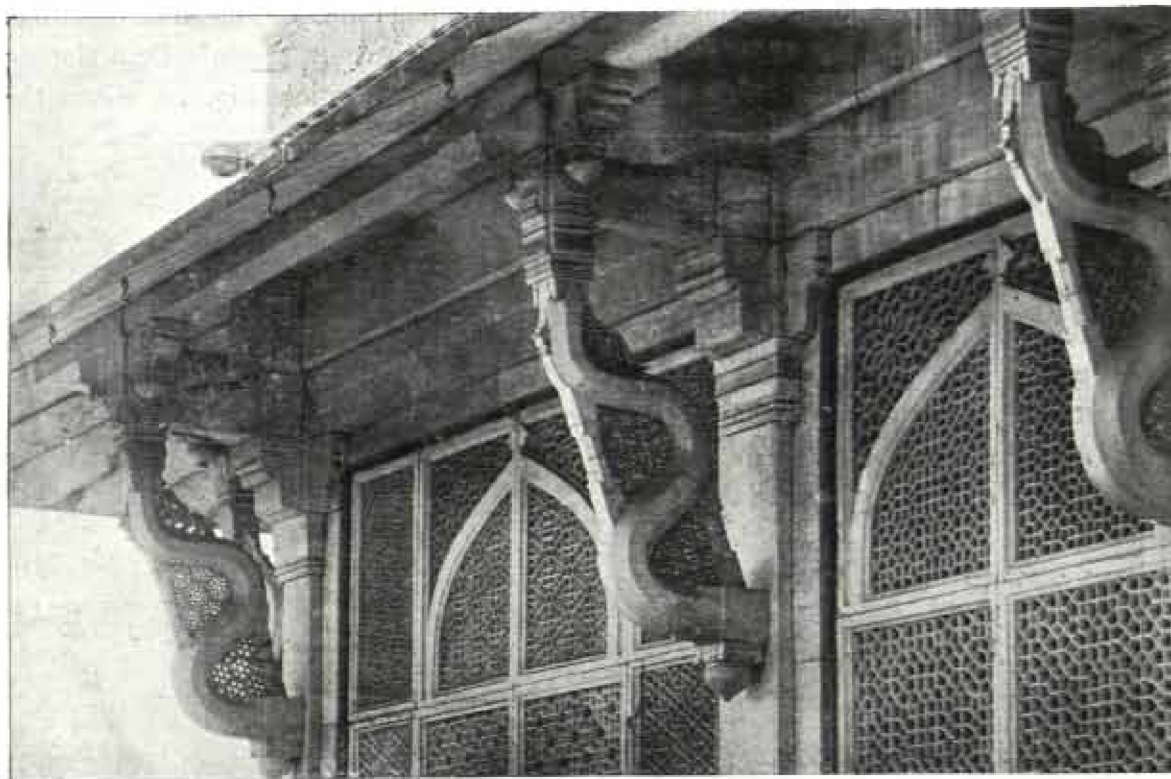


Fig. 9.

Delhi.—The Fort.

The most important changes which are taking place in the Delhi Fort are those concerned with the restoration of part of the ancient gardens with their tanks and water-courses. So far, only the first steps have been taken, beginning with the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden, and the work is not yet ripe for a full description. The extent of the large tank, in the centre of which stands the Ẓafar Maḥall, has been laid bare by the removal of the soil which had accumulated on the surface, and the arrangement of the old water channels can now be distinctly traced. The scheme includes the thorough restoration of the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden so far as the military buildings on the west and the battery on the east side will allow. In the plots of ground near the Rang Maḥall and Dīwān-i-'Āmm the work will probably be limited to marking out the lines of the old buildings by means of paths and shrubs.

Shāh Burj.—Reference was made in last year's Annual to the discovery of an inlaid marble tank beneath the floor of the *Shāh Burj.* This tank is connected with a channel, 9 feet 6 inches wide, which once ran all along the east side of the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden in the direction of the Ḥammām. On the east and west sides of the tank there was evidently a balustrade, 3 feet 6 inches in height, the place where it joined the back wall being still clearly indicated.

This wall had been broken through in two places to receive wooden doors, one of the openings being in the central niche. The original purpose of the niche was not

apparent at once; but after removing some of the modern bricks and plaster, part of a horizontal ledge was found in the back of the niche, 6 feet above the floor. From the extremities of this ledge two sloping strips run down, along both the side walls of the niche, reaching the wall face at a point 3 feet 3 inches above the ground. Only that triangular part of the side walls which is above the sloping strips was faced with marble.

From these data it was apparent beyond doubt that there was originally a sloping shoot between the horizontal ledge and the tank. The illustration, Fig. 10, shows the

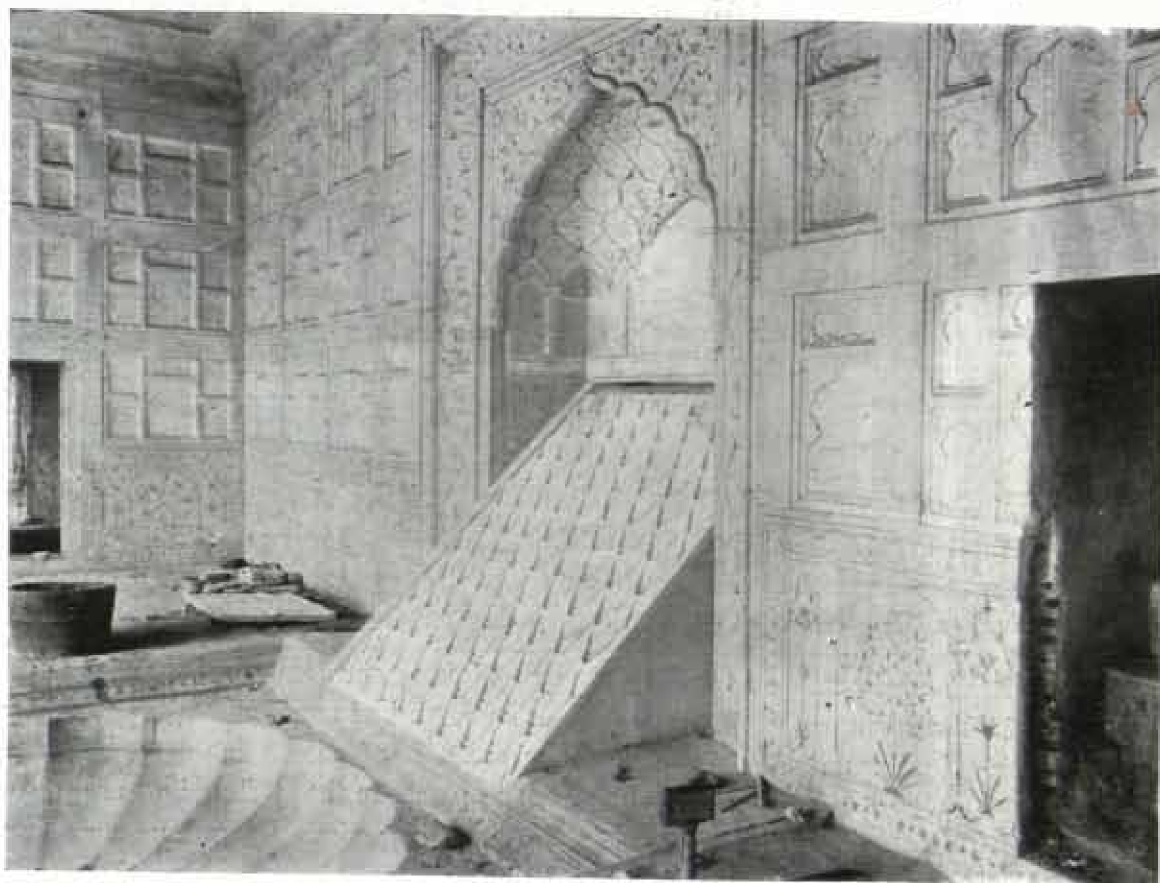


Fig. 10.

water-shoot restored. There are many similar examples in the Mughal palaces at Agra, Delhi and Lahore, from one of which the carving on the face of the marble slab was copied in this case.

'Aqab-i-Ḥammām.—The doorways which the military occupants had pierced in the walls of the royal bathrooms have been closed up, and the dado of *pietra dura* has been continued across them. In the chamber known as the "Queen's bathroom" a window opening has been fitted with a marble frame copied from one in the Dīwān-i-khāṣṣ, instead of the modern wooden frame and bars which filled it before.

Tughlaqābād.

The tomb of Tughlaq Shāh has been thoroughly overhauled and put into a sound state of repair (Fig. 11). The principal defects to be remedied were the growth of vegetation, and the coats of whitewash, blackened with smoke, which covered the interior. In addition, the missing battlements have been restored and a few defective stones in the exterior facing have been renewed.

This tomb is one of the finest specimens of the Pathan style, the style which flourished in northern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A. D. Although the form and features of the typical Pathan building are distinctly oriental, still, I feel that there is great sympathy between the Pathan and Norman styles. Both possess masculine strength in a pre-eminent degree ; both lavish their carving on their doorways

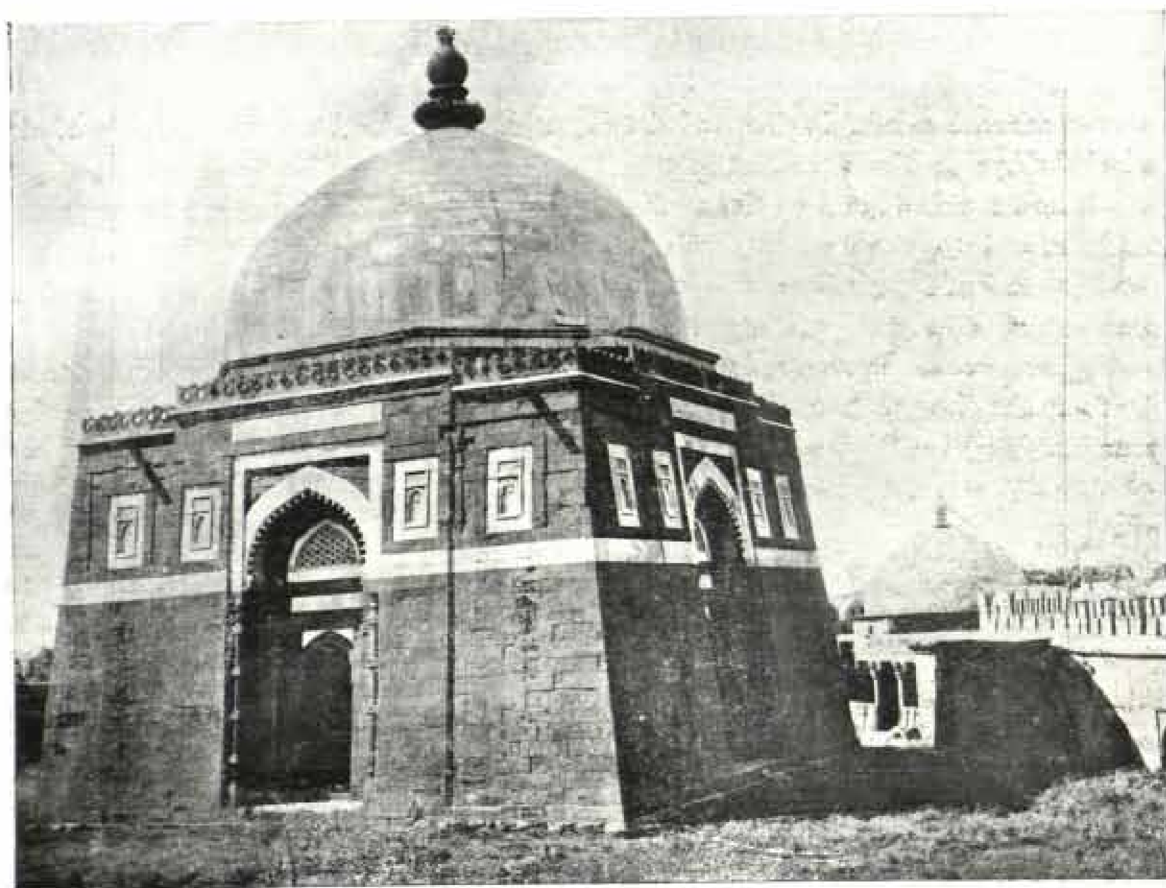


Fig. 11.

and windows, yet leave plain, solid spaces on their walls for the eye to rest upon, and both are full of promise. Indeed there is no telling what the Pathans might not have achieved had not the Mug̲hals come upon the scene. In the fifteenth century A. D., the Pathans had, at Māṇḍū and Jaunpur, already mastered the waggon vault and groin. But the problems of logical construction did not appeal to the genius of the Mug̲hals. Despite the beauty of some of their buildings, there are lacking in them the real elements which make for true architectural greatness.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed description of the tomb of *Tug̲hlaq S̲h̲āh* and its picturesque surroundings, there being nothing new to add to the accounts already published.[1] The principal features of the building are the sloping walls and the massive yet delicate proportions.

The tomb of Humāyūn. The south gateway of the garden has been rescued from serving as a rest-house for police. All the modern partitions, doors, and windows have been dismantled, and some structural repairs have been done to one of the *gul-dastas.* Further improvements have been the addition of a large *sāl* wood door in the

[1] A. S. R. (C. S.) Volume 1, page 213. Fanshawe, *Delhi Past and Present* (John Murray, 1-[illegible] [illegible] 288.

gateway, and the laying down of a road outside the garden, from the west gate to that on the south, so as to enable visitors to drive up to the latter.

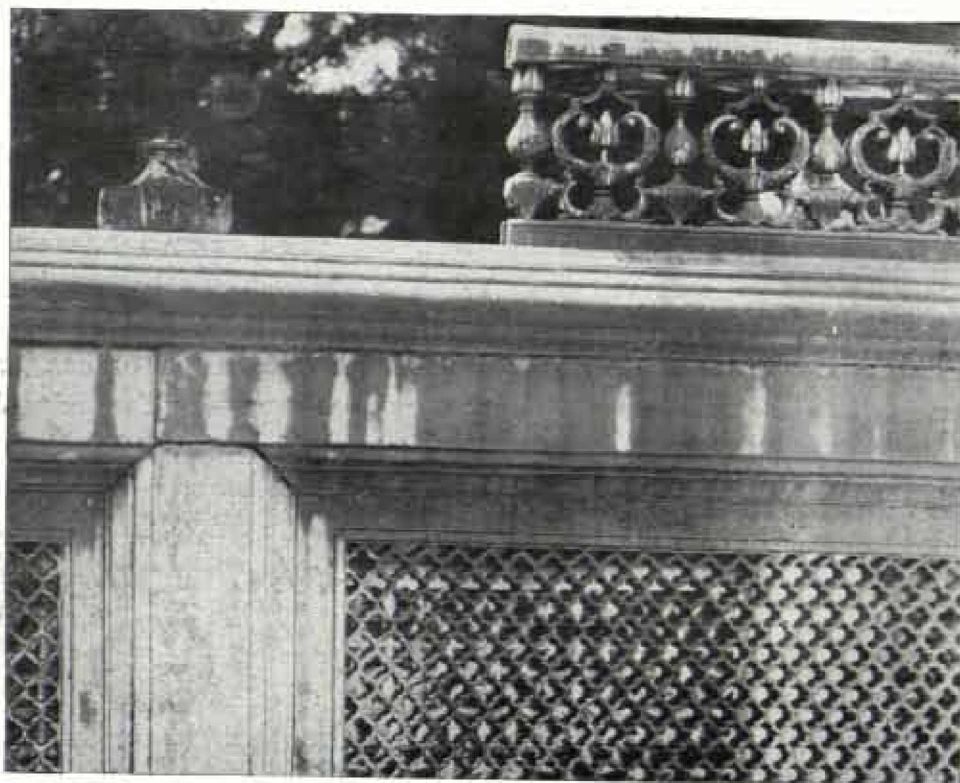


Fig. 12.

In the gardens which surround the tomb the old water-courses have been excavated, and *bajri* paths have been laid down on the old lines. In the tomb itself of Humāyūn some minor repairs have been carried out, including the removal of whitewash, by means of nitric acid, from the red sandstone walls of the lower storey.

Nizāmu-d-dīn.—Similar measures have been carried out on the façade and interior of the *Jamā'at Khānah* mosque on the west side of the enclosure of Nizāmu-d-dīn, where a pleasing contrast is obtained between the stone surface now exposed, and the white marble of the adjoining buildings.

Another point to notice in this enclosure is the restoration of the missing parts of the parapet round the tomb of *Jahān Ārā Begam*, illustrated in the text.

Lahore.

Mosque of Dāi Angah.—Although the buildings which have come under conservation at Lahore are few in number, the results which have been achieved are not insignificant. The most interesting piece of work has been the rescue of the mosque of Dāi Angah near the railway station. The mosque was built by Angah, the nurse of Shāh Jahān, shortly before she left India to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca.[1] Since the date of its erection in A. D. 1635, it has passed through various phases. Ranjit Singh turned it into a powder magazine, and subsequently it was used as a residence by a European, while latterly it has served as the office of the railway Traffic Superintendent at Lahore.

[1] Latif. *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, page 163.

When the building was taken over for repairs a year ago, the fact that it was a mosque was hardly recognizable owing to the modern offices which clustered round its walls. All of these have now been cleared away, and the original form of the mosque has emerged in a very satisfactory condition (Plate IV).

The chief point about the building is its tile decoration in various colours, over-done perhaps, but characteristic of the style which marks most of the buildings round Lahore of the period of Shāh Jahān. More tilework has now come to light at the points where the walls of offices abutted against the mosque.

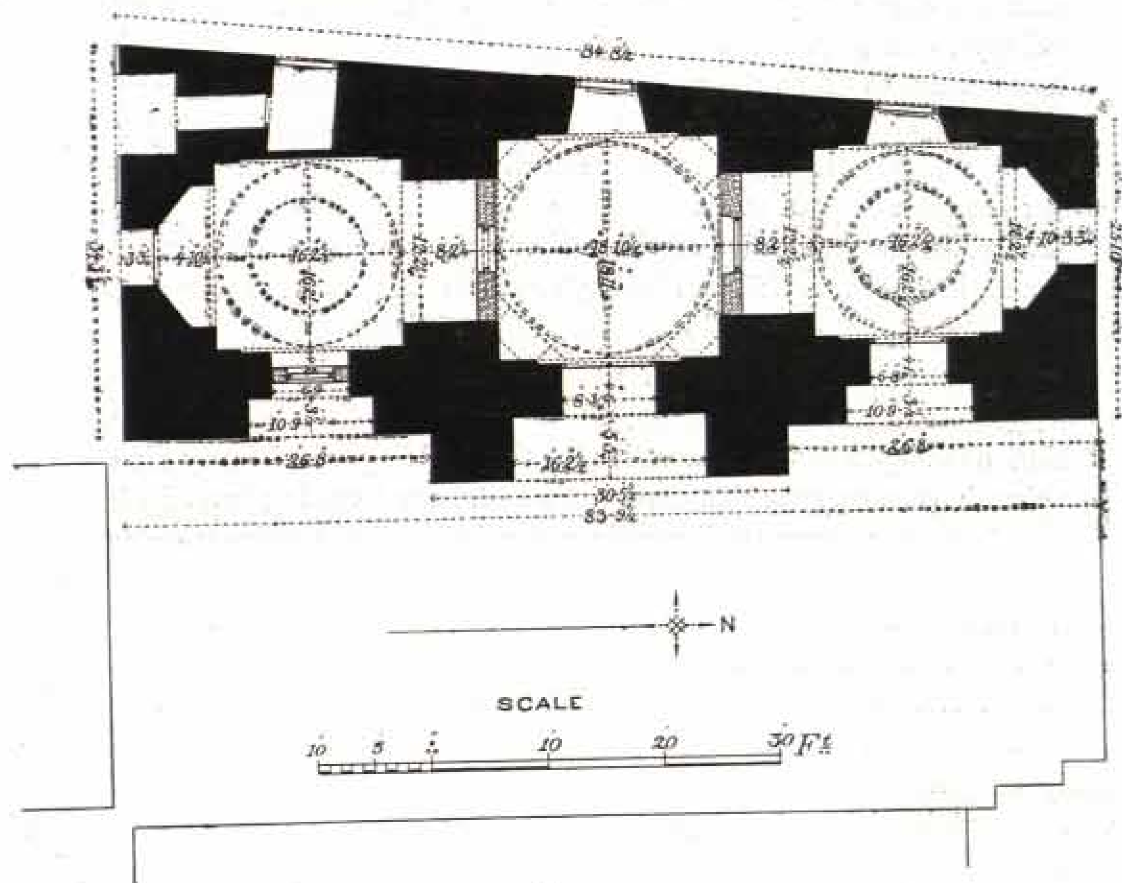


Fig. 13.

Within the courtyard in which the building stands, a tank has been found, and traces exist of what may prove to be a second tank. A tank is, of course, an essential adjunct to a mosque, since ablutions before prayer form part of Muhammadan ceremony.

The mosque itself is divided, on the east façade, into three bays richly decorated with tilework. The façade is not quite complete, the tops of the minarets and parts of the battlements being missing. The domes, of which there are three, one over each compartment, are covered with modern cement, and are crowned at the top with wooden finials, which may be the cores of the original metal-covered finials. A few fragments of tiles remain on the drums and cornices of the domes, but nothing of consequence will be recovered here, except the fact that they were originally covered with tilework.

Upon entering the mosque we find that each of the three compartments was originally roofed by a double dome: that over the central compartment still

in the case of the north and south compartments the inner dome has been removed down to its springing, with the object, probably, of securing more light and air in the chambers when they were used as offices. The splayed springing courses, however, of the inner domes remain, and leave no doubt as to the original construction.

The incomplete inner domes of the north and south compartments are carried on pendentives, while the inner dome over the central compartment is carried on eight arches, seven of which remain practically intact; but in the place of the eighth—that in the west wall—a window opening has been made. The brick drums supporting the outer domes are circular in plan, and the domes, also of brick, are consequently of the cylindrical type, with no pendentives.

It now remains to fill up the modern openings which have been cut for doors and windows, and to clean off the modern plaster from the walls, bringing to light, if possible, the wall paintings, the existence of which is indicated in some places where the plaster has been chipped away.

Shāhdara.—The restoration of the badly worn parts of the inlaid pavements on the roof and in the verandah of Jahāngīr's tomb has been continued from last year.

Lahore Fort.

Chhoṭī Khwābgāh.—The restoration of this building, which lately did duty as a military church, is now approaching completion. The undertaking proved a large one, since it was found necessary to dismantle and rebuild all the columns owing to their being shaky and out of plumb. In fact, practically the whole building has been taken to pieces and re-constructed (Plate V). All the wooden door frames and screens have been removed, and a marble ceiling, supported on iron joists, has been erected to replace the modern roof, built of wooden girders and concrete, which was there before. It is most likely, since the building is one of Shāh Jahān's time, that the ceiling was originally of gilt or silver plates attached to wooden beams. We know that such ceilings existed in similar buildings in Agra, although none of them have survived. The Chhoṭī Khwābgāh is built entirely of marble, with the exception of the *chajja* on the north side, projecting over the wall of the Fort, which is of red sandstone covered with shell plaster.

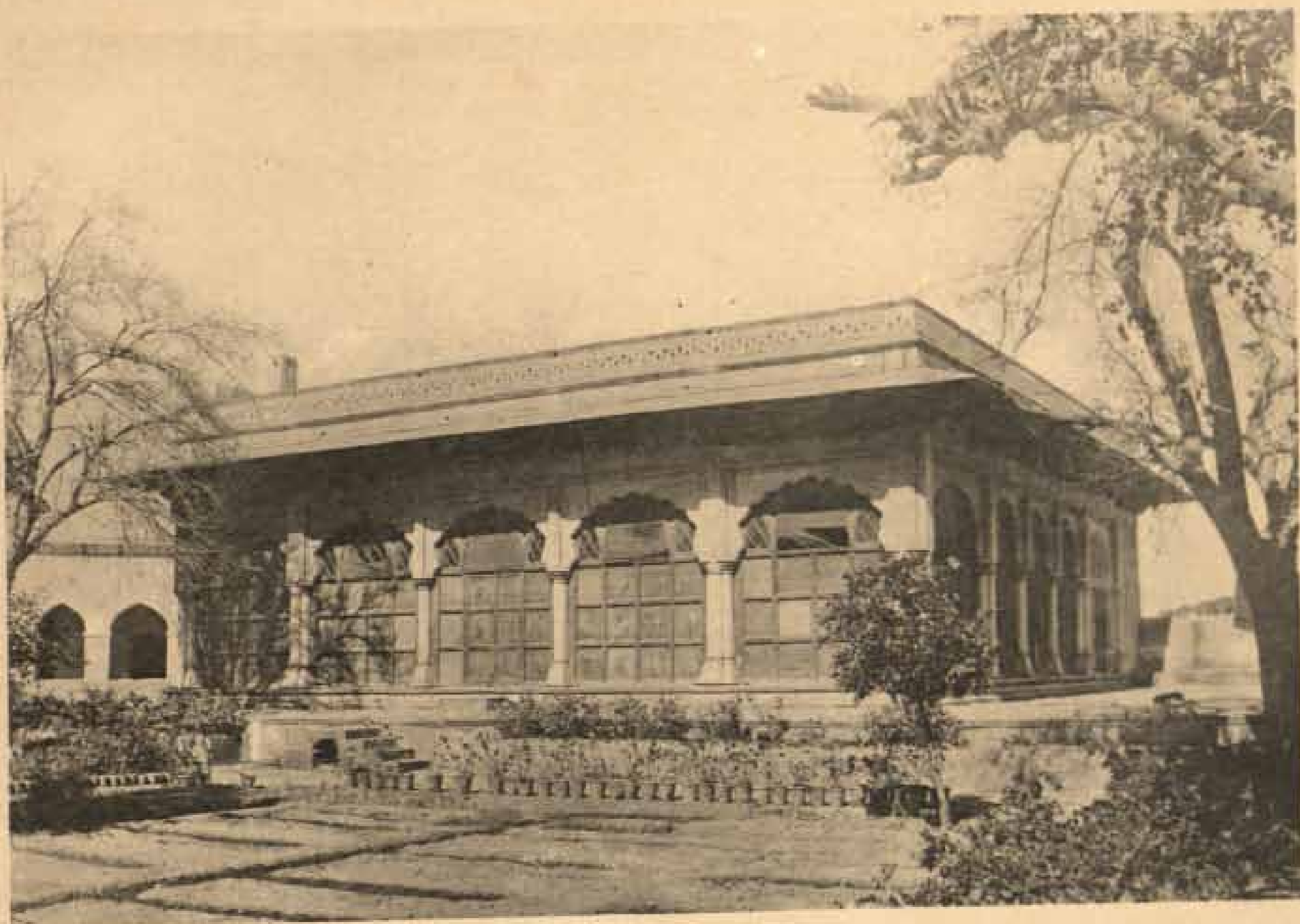
Shīsh Maḥall.—Another of Shāh Jahān's buildings in the Fort, which has been still more difficult to deal with, is the Shīsh Maḥall or "Chamber of Mirrors." The condition of the ceiling of this large room was known to be very serious, when operations were commenced a few months ago with a view to strengthening it. Part of the decorative plaster had already collapsed, exposing two wooden girders in an advanced state of decay. Still, it was hoped that it would be feasible to remove the concrete roof from above the wooden beams, and to support the latter by means of iron. With this end in view a portion of the concrete roof and filling was successfully removed, after careful drilling, but it was then seen that the wooden beams were too rotten even to be supported by iron. They are, in many cases, mere empty shells, and all that could be done to keep them in position was to prop them from underneath. The mirror work is the best of its kind. It is a class of decoration which appealed to the vulgar taste of the Sikhs, who frequently imitated it; but they did not,

a

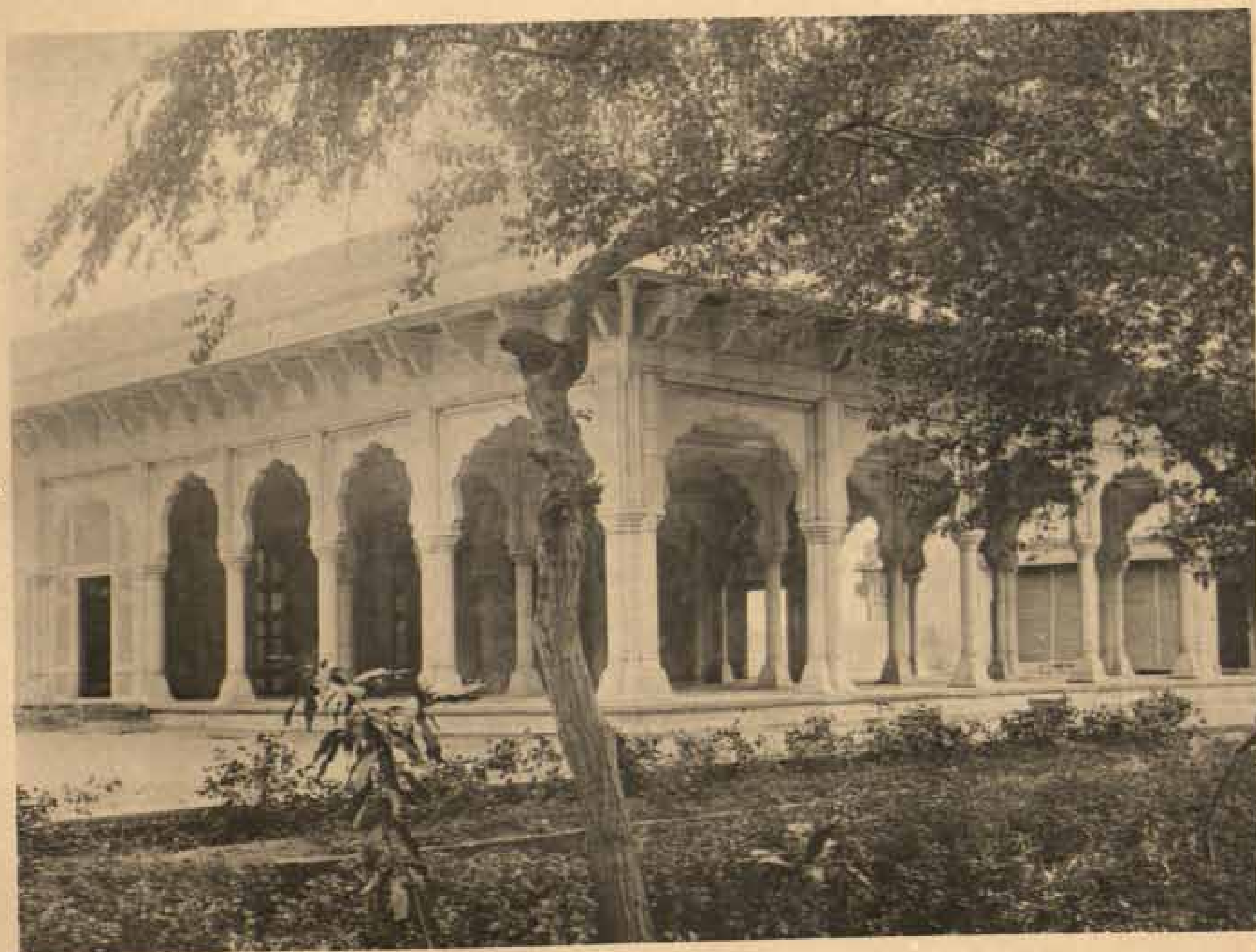
b

(a) SHOWING MOSQUE WHEN USED AS A RAILWAY OFFICE.
(b) AFTER DEMOLITION OF MODERN ADDITIONS AND PARTIAL REPAIR.

a



b



(a) USED AS AN ENGLISH CHURCH.
(b) AFTER RESTORATION.

as a rule, achieve the comparatively harmonious effect which characterises this ceiling of Shāh Jahān's. Indeed, the difference in workmanship is very noticeable on the walls of the Shīsh Maḥall itself, parts of which are decorated with mirror work of a later date than the ceiling.

Ajmer.

The restoration of the Taḥṣīl of Akbar in the Fort at Ajmer is still in progress, and a description of the work will be deferred until its completion. The building is being completely restored with a view to serving as a museum.

W. H. NICHOLLS.

CONSERVATION WORKS IN MADRAS.

IN last year's Report I gave a general account of the conservation work in progress at numerous places throughout the Presidency. The work of the past year has gone on at most of these places on the same lines as before and it would mean to some extent a repetition of words to recount its continuation. This year, therefore, I propose to devote my remarks particularly to the repairs at Vijayanagar and the Tanjore Fort, merely noting very briefly what has been accomplished at other places.

The most important temple at Vijayanagar from an architectural point of view, is the Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple. It stands in the eastern limits of the ruins, near the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra river, and shows, in its later structures, the extreme limit in floral magnificence to which the Dravidian style advanced. The most important portion is a *maṇḍapa* in front of the Central shrine, on which are found inscriptions from the years 1544-45 and 1554-55 A.D. The central shrine must have existed already during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya (A.D. 1510-29), for he is stated to have made gifts to the temple in A.D. 1513-14. The latest inscription is dated Ś. 1486, = A.D. 1564-65. The temple stands in an extensive courtyard, with *gopuras* on three sides. There are several buildings of architectural note grouped in the courtyard, but the great hall or *mahāmaṇḍapa*, in front of the main shrine, is the glory of the place, and one of the most magnificent buildings in Vijayanagar. It is open on three sides, and supported on piers, so arranged, that they leave a large hall in the centre, and a smaller one on each of the three open sides. The outer piers are cut out of immense monolithic blocks of granite, covered with carved ornament and mythological figures, and with clusters of small shafts grouped around the central column. This building has evidently attracted the special attention of the Muhammadan invaders in their attempts to destroy the buildings of the city, of which this was no doubt regarded as one of the most important, for, though many of the other temples show traces of the action of fire, in none of them are the effects so marked as in this. Its massive construction, however, resisted all the efforts that were made to bring it down: and the only visible results of their iconoclastic fury are the cracked beams and pillars, some of the latter being so flaked as to make one marvel that they are yet able to bear the immense weight of the stone entablature and roof above. The damage thus caused is irreparable, but, nevertheless, much has

been done to prevent the mischief spreading further, both by the erection of supporting piers at the most dangerous points, and by the bracing of the fractured piers with iron rods. This work of protection has been one of exceptional difficulty owing to the danger of any one of the weakened piers suddenly collapsing, and the engineers in charge are to be congratulated on the success with which it has been accomplished. In addition to this, the earth has been removed from the courtyard, and the pavement slabs replaced. Various other minor works also have been carried out at the temple; and there still remain a number of petty repairs to be done. Extending for several hundred yards in front of the temple, is one of the ancient bazaars which form an adjunct to several of the chief temples. It is of considerable width, with a row of pillared buildings on each side, and is in very fair preservation. It is largely blocked up with trees and brushwood, which it is proposed to remove, so as to make the building clearly visible. One of the chief buildings connected with this bazaar is shown in figure 1. These *maṇḍapas* have received some minor repairs, such as the stopping of leaks and the removal of mud walls.



Fig. 1.

I will now deal briefly with some other monuments conserved during the year. The Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple stands on the rising ground, a short distance south of the village of Hampi. The road from Kamalāpuram to Hampi passes through the eastern portion of the courtyard. The building is one of the larger temples, and east of it stretches one of the ancient bazaars, now under cultivation as rice fields. There are

several inscriptions in the temple, one of which is dated Ś. 1436 (A. D. 1514-15) and records the consecration of an image of Bālakṛṣṇa by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, after his return from the conquest of Udayagiri and other eastern parts of the country. The buildings are enclosed in a large irregularly planned court, with gateways or *gopuras* on the north, south and east sides. The latter is a lofty building, with the lower storey built of stone, and the superstructure of brick. The brickwork is in a somewhat ruinous condition, and some parts of it are dangerous. It is proposed to demolish such parts as cannot be repaired. In the interior of the court, and close to the east entrance, was a small stone shrine, whose foundations had been damaged by the digging of treasure seekers. The building leant over at such an angle, that it seemed in imminent danger of falling. As it was beyond repair, it was demolished. The stone pavements of the main shrine and the *maṇḍapas* in front, had been dug up and damaged by treasure seekers. The slabs have now been set right, and the joints plastered. Roofs have been cemented and made watertight. Several parts of the walls, particularly of the courtyard, either bulged out or were cracked. At these places, buttresses were erected. Some piers have been erected to support broken beams. The courtyard has been partly cleared of débris, and some carved stones have been stacked and arranged. A number of mud walls, which disfigured various parts of the temple, have been removed.

The Hazāra Rāmasvāmin temple stands almost surrounded by the courtyards of the Palace. Indeed, its south boundary forms one of the palace courtyard walls, and a gateway enters that court, just in front of the temple. It is said to have been the Raja's private place of worship. Though not of great size, it has proportionately greater profusion of sculpture and fine carving than any of the large temples. The temple buildings occupy a comparatively small area, and are placed in a single court. In the *ardhamaṇḍapa* in front of the main shrine, are four finely polished square blackstone piers. They are distinctly Dravidian in type, showing very advanced ideas, in design and minute workmanship. The chief features of interest in the temple are the rows of sculptures on the shrine walls, and on both sides of the walls of the courtyard. They are all beautifully executed, the latter especially, which cover almost every available piece of space. They are an unusual feature, and give the temple its chief claim to rank among the first works of art in the city. They resemble to a great extent, and almost equal in delicacy of execution, those on the walls of the Throne. Unfortunately, the walls were fractured in many places, and were in danger of falling, so that buttresses had to be erected against them. These court walls are built on the faulty system seen in almost all the buildings of Vijayanagar, that is, with an outer and inner facing of large thin slabs set on end, and a packing of loose rubble or brickwork between. The consequence is, that when a flaw appears, the slabs separate from the central packing, and their preservation in position is a matter of some difficulty, and in some cases, an impossibility. Other repairs and improvements at this temple were similar to those effected at the Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple. These consist in the removal of mud and débris, the resetting of disarranged floor slabs, and the stopping of leaks in the roofs, and cracks in the walls.

The underground or buried temple stands some distance west of the Hazāra Rāmasvāmin temple. It has been erroneously described as the entrance to an underground passage. This is evident on a slight investigation. The plan is that of an

ordinary temple. The ground is irregular, being high on the east and low on the west, where the oldest part of the structures, the shrines, stand. The soil has silted or been blown over it from the high ground on the east, and some of the buildings in that quarter are either wholly or partially covered. One of the latter is a *gopura*, which has formed the east gateway to the temple, with the soil up to a few feet of the top of the lofty doorway. A short distance to the west of the *gopura* is a stone *dīpdān* or lamp pillar, with only the upper part of the shaft appearing above ground. The shrines, of which there are several, are placed in the west, and, except on the extreme limit in that direction, are almost completely covered. The oldest shrine, and some of the pillars are decidedly early, or Jain in design. The other details belong to a succeeding style, and are partly or wholly Dravidian in character. To the east of the shrines, is a many-pillared *maṇḍapa*, and, as the ground slopes upwards from the west, it is completely covered. Inside the shrines and *maṇḍapa*, the mud has accumulated to within a few feet of the ceilings, and during the rains, the interior is filled with water. It can thus only be entered during dry weather.

The plan of the temple is thus a series of shrines, with the usual *maṇḍapas* in front, all intended to stand in the open. Still further to the east would be the open courtyard, with its lamp pillar, and the entrance *gopura*, all surrounded by a courtyard wall. These facts I ascertained several years ago by means of trial pits sunk at several points.

The work of removing the silt and soil covering the buildings, was in progress during the year, and a considerable part of the work has been accomplished. Some good carvings have already been brought to light. The building will probably prove, when uncovered, to be the most extensive Jain temple in the city.

The Paṭṭābhirāmasvāmin temple stands a short distance east from Kamalāpuram. In style, it is similar to the Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple, but its courtyard is large, being in fact, probably the most extensive of any in the city. The temple, generally, is in fair preservation, and did not need much repair. All that was required, was some mortar on the roofs, and the removal of vegetation. This work has been completed.

The Maharnavami Dibba or Throne.—One of the most striking of the remains of the Palace is the lofty pavilion base or platform, known by the above name. It stands in one of the enclosures, south-east from the Hazāra Rāmasvāmin temple. It is a square granite building, with a projecting basement, whose faces are covered with sculptures, representing hunting and dancing scenes. (Fig. 2.)

Above it, is the basement of the superstructure, also figure-sculptured and moulded. It is yet uncertain whether another structure, which rested on this base, was of a permanent or temporary nature. It probably was the latter, and may have resembled in some respects the *pandals*, erected at temples on festival occasions. Fergusson adopts a similar view regarding some of the other palace buildings. (*Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 385.) On the west side, is the stair by which the summit is reached. Though much ruined, it shows traces of having been of a most elaborate nature, profusely decorated with carvings and sculpture in blackstone. The whole of the west front has been similarly ornamented, but it is not part of the original design, but a subsequent addition. Brick work has been built on the mouldings of the original upper granite

base, and against these, the blackstone carvings have been set. The whole of this later work is very much ruined, and fragments of it, consisting of carved and sculptured stones, were lying about the place in all directions, even at some considerable distance, as if they had been wilfully removed. Several had been removed many years ago, and placed in the compound of the old temple, now used as a rest house at Kamalāpuram. These latter stones have been now taken back to their original site



Fig. 2.

and a search made for those lying scattered about it, the intention being to erect them in their proper positions on the west front of the Throne. Unfortunately, it seems probable that only a small proportion of the carvings will be recovered. Many of the sculptures on the lower part of the building were hidden under great heaps of débris. These have now been removed, and bushes cleared, so that about four feet more of wall has been exposed to view. A covered passage leading down from the east end of the summit has been cleared, and repaired where necessary.

This building has doubtless been of similar use to the basement discovered near the palace in the course of the previous year's operations of which a note was made in the Annual (p. 63). An illustration of it (Fig. 4) is now given, and another of the brass signet ring mentioned as having been found there (Fig. 3). The latter shows the front and side full size. The inscription is in Kanarese, and reads *Śrī Saṁgameśvaraprasaṁnna.*



Fig. 3.

The Council room is one of the best preserved and well known of the still existing palace buildings. The plan is a square, with a projection on each face. The lower storey is an open colonnade with pointed foiled arches. The upper storey is walled in, and has a series of transomed windows on each face. Nine towers surmount the roof. The building is described and illustrated by Fergusson (*Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 384), under the name of a garden pavilion. Only a few minor repairs, such as the plastering of open joints, were necessary. Some of these have been carried out. A moulded base was discovered surrounding the building on all sides. It was hidden under the accumulated débris of the courtyard. It has now been

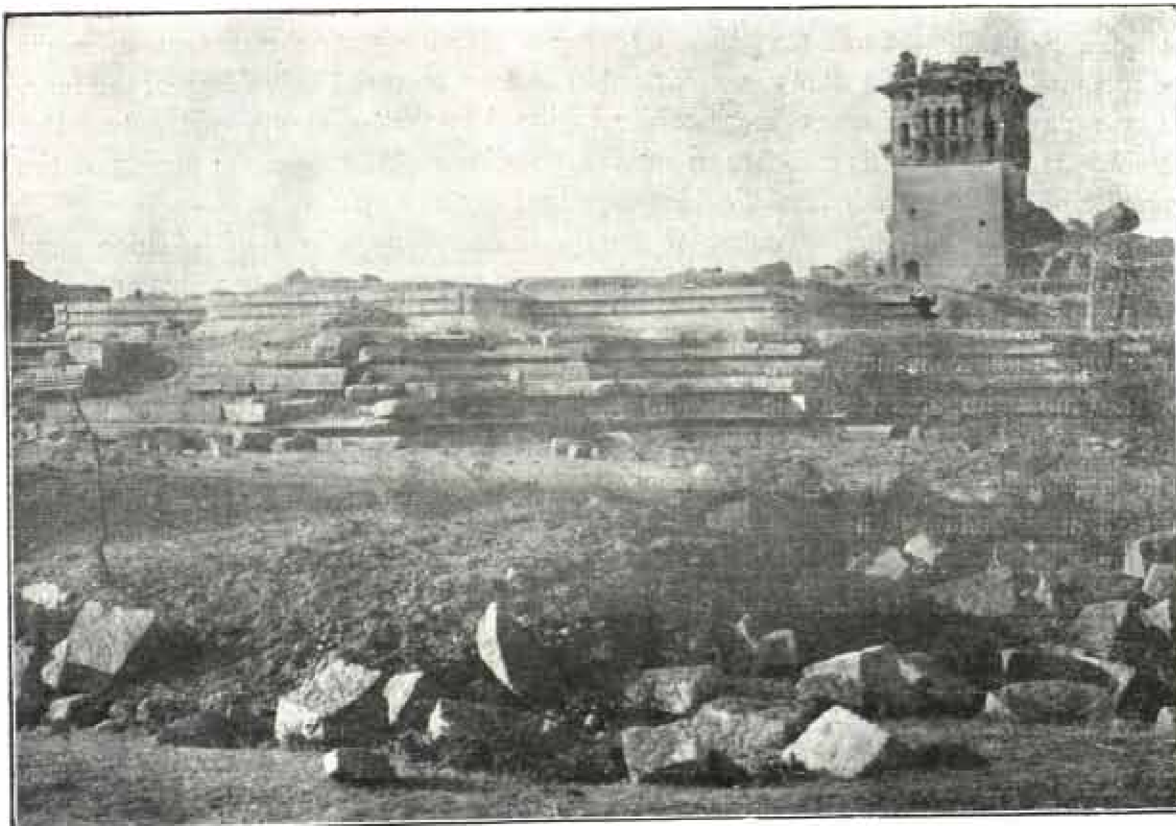


Fig. 4.

completely exposed to view. But the trench is not wide enough to allow of its appearing in a photograph. A curious feature was discovered in the interior. That is, that in some of the angles of the piers, copper tubes project from the walls. They are about the same diameter as modern speaking tubes, and may have served the same purpose, or to enable those in the upper storey to hear what was being said below.

The Palace Water Reservoir.—An elaborate system of water pipes and aqueducts for supplying the needs of the palace, is visible in several parts of the palace ruins and elsewhere. The source of supply seems to have been the great tank or lake at Kamalāpuram. Aqueducts, formed of cut stone channels, resting on stone uprights, cross the low-lying grounds; and clusters of earthenware pipes set in cement are

visible at several places, notably at the small octagonal building named the "Watershed" on the Kamalāpuram road. Some of these waterways lead to a great rectangular masonry reservoir, situated to the south of the throne. Each side is stepped from top to bottom, and all the steps have been laid with blocks of stone, now mostly all away. The floor measures 232′ by 82′.

In the bed of the tank is a great accumulation of silt, and I suggested a pit being dug, to ascertain the depth of this deposit, and to see whether a *chunam* floor existed underneath. The concrete floor was found as expected, and also at one place, a chamber beneath it, in which were some bones and a well-preserved skull. Mr. Thurston of the Madras Government Museum states that "it is of the dolicho-cephalic type, and not of the sub-brachy-cephalic or brachy-cephalic Kanarese type. It apparently belonged to a man of short stature. My suggestion was that it might be the skull of a person who was sacrificed in connection with the building of the tank, in the days before human sacrifice was replaced by that of sheep, goats, etc. But this is a mere hypothesis and thrown out as a possible explanation of the finding of the remains of a solitary individual." This expresses my own opinion.

Last year, I gave an account of the preliminary operations of clearing, and constructing new roads to the chief buildings. This work has been steadily continued, and in addition to the making of some other necessary roads, and the clearance of débris and vegetation from many of the structures, structural repairs were also done to some of the most important of the monuments. These include most of the important works which have been in progress. But, in addition to the opening of new roads, and maintaining those already laid out, bushes have been removed from within and around other buildings, and scattered sculptures have been collected and arranged in various places. As has been already pointed out, this is a work that, in such an extensive site, with its hundreds of buildings of various classes, must necessarily occupy several years.

In last year's Annual, mention was made of the repairs in progress at the Chintālrayasvāmin and Rāmēśvarasvāmin temples in Tadpatri. Of the former, an illustration of the ruined *gopura* was given. The decayed wooden lintels over the windows, which had caused most of the damage, were replaced by flat brick arches which should prevent any further damage, from falling brickwork. The repairs in progress previously were continued. Roof leaks were repaired, and irregular parts of the floors were relaid. Open joints in the *gopuras* were pointed with portland cement, and to prevent sculptures falling, some dangerous portions of the brickwork in the upper storeys, which could not be restored, were removed. A portion of a wall, which supported a heavy stone roof, had bulged out, and a large part of the superstructure might at any time have fallen. The wall was originally built in the faulty form of construction, to which I have elsewhere alluded, and which seems to have been general in the time when these temples were erected. This was repaired.

Penukoṇḍa is a place historically important, as being that to which the Vijayanagar kings fled after their defeat by the Muhammadans. Their palace yet exists in good preservation, and was for years used as a public office. The remains of an extensive hill fort and many other ancient buildings also survive. The palace has a roof designed in a manner similar to the towers that surmount the Council Chamber at

Vijayanagar. This building was repaired during the year; and proposals were made for the conservation of some of the other ancient buildings.

In my volume on Chalukyan Architecture (Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI) mention is made of the temples at Kuruvatti and Bāgali. At these buildings, some necessary, though not very extensive, repairs were carried out. They consist chiefly of the removal of vegetation, and the covering of leaky roofs with concrete.

Of the ancient Pallava temples of Kāñcīpuram mention has already been made, and an account of the repairs given. These were in process of completion at the two smallest temples of the group. Other repairs require yet to be done.

At the fort and other monuments on the hill at Gaṇḍikōṭa extensive repairs are necessary. Some of these, such as the clearance of vegetation, the provision of concrete flooring, and other similar repairs, have already been in progress for some time. A curious form of the Indian dumb-bell, said to have been used by the ancient kings in their gymnastic exercises, was found here, buried in the ground. It is a stone, cut in the form of a ring, with an outer diameter of 1′ 7″ and a thickness of 9½″ with a bar across the centre. It weighs 140 pounds.



Fig. 5.

Another well known monument, which has been undergoing repairs for some time, is the temple in the Vellore Fort. The work has been progressing steadily, and with the best possible results. One of the most difficult problems encountered in the scheme of conservation was the restoration of the north-west *maṇḍapa*. It is built on a sandy subsoil, and the consequence is that the foundations have sunk, thus causing some of the supporting piers to lean over from their original vertical position, with consequent damage to the building in general. As this *maṇḍapa* is one of the chief features of the temple, it was decided temporarily to support the superstructure, remove the piers, and introduce a more secure foundation. This work was in progress, and various other minor repairs to the temple were completed.

The repairs to the tank and *maṇḍapa* at Vālikoṇḍāpuram were completed.

The temple at Tanjore is generally classed as one of the great Dravidian temples. Though it does not cover such an extent of ground as many of them, it is an example of a temple built almost in its entirety, as a completed building, when many of the now great temples were small insignificant shrines. The Tanjore temple, from its shrine to its entrance gateway or *gopura*, is of Cōḷa date, or an example of eleventh century work, and must have been the largest temple in existence in Southern India at that time. It contains some later buildings in the courtyard, but these do not surpass or obscure the main earlier buildings, as is almost invariably the case in the other great temples. With these latter, the main shrine is usually a small insignificant building, often of Cōḷa date, which has attained sanctity, and to which courtyards

gopuras and other exterior buildings have been added by succeeding kings, to such an extent, that the original small central shrine cannot be seen from the outside. With these, the loftiest buildings are on the exterior. The Tanjore temple, on the other hand, exhibits its loftiest building in the tower over the shrine, a tower which could not be hidden by any external *gopuras*. In this, it shows the true principles of design, which are observable in all early buildings, such as the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, and the Shore temple at Māmallapuram. Another temple, almost a duplicate of the Tanjore temple, and of the same date, but of smaller size, exists at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, in the Trichinopoly district. The Tanjore temple, like that at Vellore, stands surrounded by a moated fort. It is described by Fergusson (*Ind. and East. Arch.*, pp. 343-5) and is generally in good preservation.

The fort is of a much later period than the temple itself, dating only from the sixteenth century. It is nevertheless an interesting specimen of its kind, and is worthy of preservation. It was largely overgrown with vegetation, and, chiefly through this cause, had in parts become ruinous. The inner fort is protected by a moat with escarp and counterscarp walls. The work is, on the whole, in an excellent state of preservation. In two places, however, the escarp wall has completely collapsed and for most of its length it is overgrown with vegetation. During the year 1904-05 repairs were undertaken. The escarp wall has now been cleared of vegetation, and all the damaged portions, with the exception of the two large breaches, have been repaired with good tinted mortar. The new work is so close an imitation of the old that it can scarcely be distinguished. This work was done at a cost of R4,200. There remain still two breaches to be closed. An estimate has been prepared for them amounting to R6,000. The safety of the upper rampart wall is seriously endangered by the lack of support at its foot, at the site of these breaches, and there is no doubt that this work should be carried out also.

Petty repairs, fencing, and the removal of vegetation were carried out at a considerable number of other places. These are enumerated in the Annual Report of the Madras Archæological Survey.

A. REA.

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

THE record of the past season in exploration has been one of good forward progress, and it affords me no little satisfaction to be able to state that the prospects of work in this field are each year becoming brighter. Exploration, as I have explained in previous Reports, has been bound to take but a second place in the official programme while there were so many arrears of conservation work to be swept off. Now, however, that so much has been done to make up for the neglect of past years in respect of conservation, we can look forward in the near future to making the excavation of buried monuments as much an integral part of the year's programme as the preservation of monuments already known. A uniform policy in this respect cannot, of course, be taken up at once and simultaneously in all the Circles; for in some of them conservation is still very backward, and, moreover, it must be remembered that this is the first time that excavations on scientific lines have been seriously attempted in this country, and that both time and patience are required to train up the local staffs to the methods of competent European explorers. A good beginning, however, has now been made, and the results already obtained make it sufficiently apparent that there is little cause for the pessimism so often expressed as to the possibilities of excavation in India. Indeed, it may confidently be affirmed—and I say it after due reflection—that in a few years' time India will be able to boast of sites of the early historic period as complete in themselves and as instructive, relatively, as any unearthed in the Nearer East.

Prominent among the sites that have been taken systematically in hand is that of Kasiā—a spot which Sir A. Cunningham long ago identified with the famous Kuśinagara or Kusinārā, the traditional scene of Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. Sir A. Cunningham's identification was, in the first instance, based on the indications as to the position of the spot offered by the Chinese pilgrims, but in 1875-6 his assistant, Mr. Carlleyle, unearthed among the ruins of Kasiā a colossal image of the recumbent Buddha, which appeared to agree with the one described by Hiuen Thsang. Such circumstantial evidence naturally gave strong support to Sir A. Cunningham's theory, particularly as no other image of a similar kind was known to exist in all northern India; nay, it was accepted by everyone as conclusive proof of the identity of the two places, and the question was regarded as settled up to a few years ago, when Mr. V. Smith re-opened it once more and argued with great plausibility for the location of Kusinarā in the Nepal

Tarai, some 80 miles to the north-east of Kasiā.[1] If absolute dependence could be placed on the distances and other indications given by Hiuen Thsang, on which Mr. Smith relies, it would, indeed, be impossible not to assent to his conclusions, at least so far as Kasiā is concerned, but experience at other sites where the topographical accuracy of Hiuen Thsang can be reliably tested, warns us more and more to accept his statements with reservation, and we should do well in the case of Kasiā to wait patiently for the results of Dr. Vogel's excavations before expressing a positive opinion in either direction.

Had it not been for the interest which Kasiā owes to its association with the ancient Kusinārā, the site is not one which would naturally have been selected for excavation at the present juncture; for there are many other famous spots connected with the life of Buddha, whose identity is undisputed, and where the ground is on the whole more promising for excavation. But apart from the importance of establishing, if possible, its identity, there was another special reason which demanded the early exploration of this site. In 1903, a Society of Burmese Buddhists in Calcutta had petitioned the Government for a grant of land close by the Māthā-Kũar Kōṭ, and between it and the *dharmsālā* which they had already erected, and as there could be little doubt that the plot in question concealed many buried remains, it seemed advisable, before acceding to the request of the Buddhists, to explore not only it but the whole area around the temple discovered by Mr. Carlleyle. Operations were accordingly started in the following year, and it soon became apparent that there was a wealth of buried structures to be looked for in every direction. Indeed the temple itself of the Dying Buddha was found to have been but imperfectly explored, and the new discoveries, made in connection with it, form not the least important part of the season's work. Mr. Carlleyle had already laid bare the remains of an earlier and larger edifice extending out on both sides of the present temple, but Dr. Vogel has now brought to light a still more ancient structure adorned with pilasters and niches, which on grounds of style he assigns to the Kuṣaṇa period. One of these niches still contained a little image of Buddha *in situ*, and a second image was found in a recess of the same building under the south-west corner of the present temple. The latter is a fine terra-cotta figure, standing some 2 feet high and bearing an inscription in the Gupta character of the fifth century.

South of the temple, and joining on to the plinth, a rectangular chamber was excavated, and in its midst a shallow vaulted tumulus which had all the appearance of a grave but was found to contain nothing but rubble within. This chamber also contained two terra-cotta images of the Kuṣaṇa or early Gupta epoch, much crushed unfortunately beneath a heap of fallen débris. On the same side of the temple were a number of votive *stūpas* of approximately the same date, two of which are peculiarly well decorated with carved and moulded bricks.

The ruin in the mound to the east proved to be a large terraced building nearly

[1] See *J. R. A. S.*, Jan. 1902, p. 139. Mr. Vincent Smith's arguments are lucid and cogent, but I must confess my inability to understand the following passage, p. 140: "The discovery of the true site of the Lumbini garden proved that Kuśinagara, which was known to lie in a south-easterly direction from the garden, could not possibly be represented by the remains near Kasiā, which lie a little west of south from the garden." As a fact, Mr. Smith's own map opposite p. 162 shows Kasiā almost due south-east from the Lumbinī garden, while the site he suggests for Kusinārā is very slightly north of east from the Lumbinī garden.

90 feet square, with an approaching flight of steps on the north—plainly the remains of a *stūpa*, of which all the superstructure had gone. Close by this, was found a small square chamber which, judging from its construction, dates back to the Mauryan period, and judging from the finds within, would seem to have been destroyed by fire about the end of the first century A.D.

To the west of the temple, the excavation of the monastery already partially explored was proceeded with, but could not be completed. It turns out to be a square building, 150' along its sides. In the centre, is a courtyard surrounded, as usual, by cells on all four sides, with the main entrance facing towards the Nirvāṇa Temple. From the thickness of the walls it would appear likely that it had two or even three storeys. Only one object, giving any clue to the date when this building perished, has been found, namely a copper disc with Gupta letters of the fifth century.

Such, briefly, are the main finds of the season. Though they throw no light on the question of identification, they sufficiently attest at any rate the great sanctity and importance of the spot in the early ages of Buddhism, and consequently make one hesitate to believe that it could have been passed over in complete silence by the Chinese pilgrim, as suggested by Mr. V. Smith.[1] Whether it will prove to be Kusinārā or not, must be left for further excavation to decide.

Another and still more important place where valuable discoveries have been made is that of Sārnāth in the neighbourhood of Benares. Here, we are treading on altogether surer ground than at Kasiā, for we know not only much about the traditional history of the site, but something also about its topography at a comparatively early date in the Christian era. In the days of Buddha, Sārnāth was occupied by a deer park, and it was in this park, destined to become one of the most holy spots on earth, that the Great Teacher first gave forth his doctrines to the world, and that his adherents in after time erected a multitude of costly edifices in honour of their master. Here the Emperor Aśoka is said to have set up a great *stūpa* of stone, and here a tall and splendid pillar was erected to mark the spot where Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." Here, centuries after, Hiuen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, saw, besides several hundred smaller *vihāras* and *stūpas*, a great *vihāra* some two hundred feet high, its roof crowned with an *amlaka* of gold, and in its midst a copper statue of the Buddha; and here, also, he found some fifteen hundred priests studying the law of the "Little Vehicle," and was shown the sacred vestiges and memorials of the Buddhas of byegone ages.

With the overthrow of Buddhism in India these monuments fell to ruin and became buried deep in heaps of débris; so much so, that it was only by a quite fortuitous discovery[2] at the close of the eighteenth century that archæologists had their attention directed to this site and began to suspect the presence of remains beneath the ground. Since that time various spasmodic efforts have been made to explore the site and the ruins of several structures have been unearthed, together with a quantity of sculptures and other antiquities, but no records of any importance were recovered, and the structural remains, which might have proved of such exceptional interest now, were allowed to crumble to ruin, the whole site gradually becoming a chaos in which it was

[1] *J. R. A. S*, January 1902, p. 161.

[2] See p. 61, below.

well nigh impossible to distinguish what had been excavated from what had not. This was the condition of things when it was decided to clear it up finally, preserving effectually all that there might be found fit to preserve *in situ*, and collecting into a museum—built for the purpose—any sculptures and other fragments that lay scattered about. The prime mover in the recent work has been Mr. F. O. Oertel, of the Public Works Department, who had long cherished the idea of continuing the digging at Sārnāth and to whose enthusiasm and interest in the site the credit for the recent discoveries is solely due.

The results of the first season's operations, which were carried out by Mr. F. O. Oertel, may be briefly summarised. First and foremost of the finds, is a column of beautifully polished sandstone, broken at about 18 feet from the base, but still bearing nine lines of an inscription in the Mauryan character, which, though it does not contain Aśoka's actual name, was undoubtedly an edict of that monarch. There are also some later records on the pillar, among them one dated in the reign of Aśvaghoṣa—a ruler about whom we possess no other information. Lying near the column were the broken portions of the upper part of the shaft and a magnificent capital of the well known Persepolitan bell-shaped type with four lions above, supporting in their midst a stone wheel or *dharmacakra*—the symbol of the law first promulgated at Sārnāth. Both bell and lions are in an excellent state of preservation and masterpieces in point of both style and technique—the finest carvings, indeed, that India has yet produced, and unsurpassed, I venture to think, by anything of their kind in the ancient world.

Next, come a group of three finds, namely, a colossal but indifferently carved statue of Bodhisattva, a gigantic umbrella elaborately decorated on its under side with concentric rings of scroll-work and sacred symbols, and a small octagonal pillar. All three are in red sandstone and were found in close proximity; moreover, they are linked together by inscriptions on the pillar and statue, from which it appears that they were dedicated in the third year of the Kuṣaṇa king, Kaniṣka. It is hard, at first sight, to believe that the huge umbrella should have rested on so slender a shaft, but the two fit together with accuracy, and we must assume that some other supports were added, probably at the edge of the umbrella. It adds somewhat to the interest of these finds, that the date of the inscriptions is in the earliest recorded year of Kaniṣka's reign and that among the donors were two satraps with quite foreign names, Kharapallāna and Vanaṣpara.

Besides the above, a host of architectural carvings and sculptures have been exhumed, some of them with short dedicatory inscriptions; a few of these date back to the Mauryan epoch, but the majority are mediæval.

As to the structures brought to light, the chief building is a shrine of considerable dimensions constructed of brick and plaster, with a medley of stone members from other edifices built into its foundations and lower courses. Around this shrine is an array of small *stūpas* and chapels mostly of the same epoch and displaying no great variety of form, but interesting as the typical adjuncts of a Buddhist *saṅghārāma*. Nearly all the area excavated up to date is covered with several layers of concrete pavement, one immediately above the other, and it would seem as if, when the first of these pavements was laid, most of the older structures beneath it had been partly

demolished, partly levelled up with rubble thrown in between. A few, however, and among them the Aśoka column, may still be seen cropping up here and there through the concrete. These, it may perhaps be surmised, were the more important among the older memorials. No doubt, any objects of value in the way of statues and carved stones would be stripped from the earlier fabrics before covering them over, and re-erected on the new pavement—an hypothesis which accounts for the presence of the Kuṣaṇa antiquities referred to above to the south of the main shrine.

As regards the topography of Sārnāth, we are not yet in a position to speak with confidence about any one of the monuments yet unearthed, and I should have preferred to postpone discussing the question until our excavations are completed, a work which will take at least four or five years. Mr. Oertel, however, whose services for continuing the work at Sārnāth could no longer be spared by the Local Government, has asked me to record his views on the subject, and it is in deference to his wishes that I do so, my reluctance being all the greater because there are several important essentials in which I find it difficult to agree with him. That the Aśoka column is the column seen by Hiuen Thsang and described by him as polished like jade and brilliant as a mirror, will be accepted by most people as more than probable, but even here we are not sure of our ground, for the Chinese traveller says that his column was 70 feet or thereabouts in height, while the one discovered could not have been more than 50, and on the other hand, he says nothing of Aśoka in connection with it, nor does he mention either the inscription or the magnificent lion capital, which must have been an exceptionally striking feature. Mr. Oertel accepts the identity of the two columns as settled, and would go a step further and identify a large brick *stūpa* to the south of the column and the shrine immediately east of it with the *stūpa* of Aśoka and the great *vihāra* described by Hiuen Thsang. One cannot, of course, dogmatise when dealing with the sometimes questionable accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, but when he states explicitly that the *stūpa* he saw was of stone, we should be wise in hesitating to believe that it was of brick and plaster, the materials of which the Jagat Singh *stūpa* is, and always was, constructed. And the arguments against identifying the central shrine with the actual *vihāra* seen by Hiuen Thsang are even more conclusive. Nor, in this connection, is it necessary to take into consideration the description in the Chinese record. The foundations of the shrine are built, as I have said, of stones taken from older buildings, and though some of these may be referred back to the Kuṣaṇa period, there are others whose style and cutting proclaims them centuries later. Moreover the whole fabric bears the impress of a late structure, and if this is not enough, conclusive proof of its date is to be found in two inscriptions, not earlier than the ninth century, turned upside down on one of the large foundation stones, which no imagination could suggest had been built in afterwards.

Two other structures that remain to be mentioned are the Dhamekh and Chaukhaṇḍī *stūpas*. Mr. Oertel conjectures that the former was erected in honour of Maitreya and marks the site of the Maitreya *stūpa* seen by Hiuen Thsang. In

[1] It was very unfortunate that after his brilliant work in the season of 1904-05, Mr. Oertel was transferred to Agra, and owing to the prevalence of famine in the United Provinces during the following winter the Local Government was unable to accede to my request that he might be put on special duty to continue his operations at Sārnāth.

support of this conjecture, he points out that the chief niche on the tower faces the west, and he adduces some evidence from a *stūpa* near Sopāra in the Bombay Presidency to show that such a position for the Maitreya Bodhisattva would be quite in conformity with Buddhist ideas. But a similar argument, based on the authority of Fa Hien, was used by Sir A. Cunningham more than forty years ago to prove that the niche in question was occupied by a statue of Buddha turning the wheel of the law, and, though this theory is speculative, it has at any rate as much to recommend it as the Maitreya one. If a suggestion about this niche may be hazarded, it is that its position is more likely to have been determined by some important monument on the west side of the *stūpa*, than by the character of any image placed within it. The identification of the Chaukhaṇḍī *stūpa* with the vast and splendid memorial which Hiuen Thsang places at two or three *li* to the south-west of the Deer Park monastery is far more convincing. This was first proposed by Sir A. Cunningham on purely topographical grounds, and has since been generally accepted. The Chaukhaṇḍī *stūpa* is situated some 800 yards south-west of the main site of the monastery, and thus agrees with the position indicated by Hiuen Thsang. Moreover, there is no other mound in this direction which would suit the requirements of the case. It is true that the Chaukhaṇḍī *stūpa* is built in terraces ornamented with niches and to this extent the recent excavations have tended rather to disprove than to support the identification proposed by Sir A. Cunningham; for Hiuen Thsang says of his monument that there were "no niches arranged in stages." But, then, it must be remembered that what we see now is not what Hiuen Thsang saw, and that radical changes in the form of the monument may well have been effected since his day.

In Bengal, only a comparatively short time, unfortunately, could be spared for excavations and, as it seemed inexpedient to reopen the work at Basāṛh, Dr. Bloch determined to explore some of the well known mounds at Lauriya. I had hoped to be able to include in this Annual a full account of the results achieved there, but continued ill-health has prevented Dr. Bloch completing the report he promised, and though the illustrations are ready, it seems advisable to postpone publishing them until the letterpress can accompany them. In the meantime, for the sake of those readers who do not see the Provincial Reports of our Department, it may be as well to summarise here the main results as they are given by Dr. Bloch in his preliminary account.[1]

Dr. Bloch's digging was confined entirely to the group of mounds near the Aśoka column, about a mile apart from the famous Nandangaṛh, which, by the way, he surmises may contain the remains of several buildings, marking perhaps the site of an ancient citadel. The mounds are arranged in three rows of five each, varying in height from 20 to 50 feet. Their shape, at present, is roughly conical, though from the accumulation of clay around their bases, obviously washed from above, it is safe to believe that originally they may have presented a different aspect. Several of the mounds had already been dug into some years back, and it is said that in one of them an iron or leaden coffin was discovered, with a human skeleton within; but no reliable account of this discovery exists, and the records of other excavations, though affecting much detail, are so unsatisfactory that it was impossible hitherto to affirm

[1] See *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1904-5, pp. 11-15.

anything with confidence about the nature of these monuments or the purpose for which they were erected.[1]

Four of the mounds in all were opened by Dr. Bloch, and two of them (A and C) presented almost identical features. The material of which they are constructed is a yellow clay, which appears to have been taken from the bed of the Gaṇḍak river, at present about 10 miles distant. This clay was found to be laid in horizontal layers a few inches thick and extending, apparently, right through the mound,[2] with straw and leaves between them. Time had rendered it for the most part very hard and tough, but it varied in this respect in the several mounds and varied also in colour according to its depth below the surface. At a few feet below the top, and in the centre of each mound was a deposit[3] of human bones and charcoal and a small gold leaf with the figure of a woman stamped upon it; then further down, came a long hollow shaft in the clay, showing where a wooden post had once existed but had since been eaten away by white ants; and then, still further down, at the dividing line between the yellow clay and the grey virgin soil, was found the stump of the post itself *in situ*.[4] This stump was of *sāl* wood and of considerable thickness, its circumference near the base being 4′ 4″.

In the third mound (B), the clay was laid in the same way, with straw and leaves, as in the other two, but there was no deposit of human bones, though here and there in the clay animal bones turned up, as they did in one of the other mounds also. Some pieces of corroded iron were found in the centre, and these may conceivably have belonged to an upright pillar, but no traces of wood were found below, though the trench was sunk to the level of the surrounding fields.

The fourth mound (D) contained neither deposit nor wooden post, nor was there any trace of straw and leaves between the layers of clay.

As regards the explanation of the facts revealed by his excavations, Dr. Bloch believes that it is to be found in the ancient burial customs, described in the *Sūtras* and *Prayogas* which deal with the Indian ritual. "Their rules," he writes, "have been collected together and explained in Dr. Caland's well-known work *Die Altindischen Toten und Bestattungs-gebrauche.* According to this excellent publication, the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four separate acts, *viz.*—

(1) Cremation.

(2) Collecting the bones of the cremated persons and depositing them in an urn (*asthi-sañcayana*).

(3) Expiration (*śāntikarma*).

(4) Erection of the funeral monument (*śmaśāna-citi; loṣṭa-citi*).

The fourth act is optional only, and is done sometime after the bones have been deposited in the funeral urn and placed in the field under a tree. The urn is then taken out, and after the bones have been washed and several other ceremonies have been performed, they are placed upon the earth, the urn is broken and thrown away

[1] See *A. S. R.*, I, pp. 68-74; XVI, pp. 104-9; XXII, pp. 36-49. Also Mr. Vincent Smith's remarks in *J. R. A. S.*, January 1902, pp. 153-7.

[2] That is to say, no vertical joints were found.

[3] The depth of the deposit was 12 feet in one case and only a few feet in the other; but, then, the tops of the mounds had fallen away, and it is impossible to say what the original depth was.

[4] This was only found in one case; the excavation in the other did not go deep enough.

and a funeral monument (*śmaśāna*) is erected over the bones by piling up layers of bricks or clay. The height of such a grave generally does not appear to have exceeded that of a human body, and its shape was some form of a quadrangle. However, both Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin also mention round *śmaśāna*, like the mounds at Lauriya. In building up the *śmaśāna* we find a Vedic verse employed where a post (*sthūṇā*) is mentioned.[1] The meaning of this is not quite clear from the context or from the ritual, but I think the discovery of the two wooden posts in mounds A and C, above which the bones were deposited, shows that it refers to a similar custom according to which a pillar was erected in the centre of the funeral monument and the bones placed above its top. The verse may be thus translated :—

"I raise the earth around thee ; that I lay down this lump of earth, should not do me any harm.

"May the manes hold this pillar for thee and may Yama prepare a seat for thee in the other world."

Again in another verse recited at the same occasion it is said :—

"The piled-up earth may stand firmly, may it be supported by a thousand pillars."

That there is a connection between the mounds A and C at Lauriya and the *śmaśāna* described to us in the Vedic ritual, cannot, I think, be doubted. The only difference is the height of the Lauriya mounds. The straw placed between the layers of clay at Lauriya even reminds us of the bushels of grass that are put upon the *śmaśāna*, and, as regards the gold leaf, we must remember that pieces of gold are placed upon the openings of the dead body before it is cremated. Whether the two mounds B and D have served the same purpose as A and C is not quite clear. It is possible that they were erected as monuments of persons whose funeral urns could not be found. This case is provided for in the ritual, and it is prescribed that some earth should then be taken out from the spot where the urn was supposed to have been deposited, and laid down instead of the bones. We may also think of the rules referring to persons who died on a journey and whose bodies could not be found. It is, however, likewise possible that mounds B and D merely served some purpose in connection with the cremation, which invariably was performed on the same place where the *śmaśāna* was put up later ".[2]

In Madras, after a few more weeks' work among remains in the Tinnevelly District, it was decided to suspend all further operations there, as there was no likelihood of any new types of finds being made, and it seemed of little use to go on increasing the rich and widely representative collection of prehistoric antiquities already made by Mr. Rea in the course of the last few years. Mr. Rea afterwards continued his excavation of the mediæval Jain shrines at Dānavulapāḍu in the Cuddapah District, and made a preliminary examination of the surface at several other sites where there was promise of discoveries being made. At Dānavulapāḍu, some finely sculptured panels—several of them bearing Telugu inscriptions—besides carved bases and pillars, were found around the remains of the shrines previously exposed, and the latter were followed up as far as the limits of the fields acquired by Government,

[1] Ṛigveda, 10, 2, 18, 13.

[2] See *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1904-5, pp. 13-14.

further digging being postponed until some of the adjoining land can be purchased from its present owners. The other chief sites where tentative digging was done were Perumbēr and Peddamuḍiyam. The first mentioned is a village in the Chingleput District, and between it and Acharapākkam stretches a hill, at the southern end of which are hundreds of cromlechs. Those which were examined, are on *poramboke* land, and all would seem to have been subject to some rough usage in past time, possibly at the hands of treasure-seekers; for, with the exception of some neolithic implements and coins, nearly everything excavated by Mr. Rea (consisting of ceramic iron and bronze objects), was in a fragmentary condition. Near by, however, in the reserved forests there are other cromlechs and, as these have the appearance of being more intact, it is hoped that they will yield better results. Peddamuḍiyam, in the Jammalamaḍugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District, is of more general interest than the last, as, in addition to the several mounds which have already given earnest of good results in the future, the site also possesses several ruined temples, inscriptions and other antiquities, for the proper preservation of which Government has already taken the necessary steps. The mounds here, to judge from the presence of neolithic stone implements, would appear to date from a prehistoric age, but their occupation went on no doubt for many centuries, and the majority of the finds made in the course of a short examination are referable to a much later epoch. These include gold, copper and lead coins, gold ear-rings, bronze and ivory finger-rings, two sculptured stone slabs with archaic Śaiva images, small *lingas* and figures in stone and ivory and a variety of beads, pottery, iron implements and bones. Mr. Rea also traced out the remains of some rough foundation walls and two stone-built circular wells or granaries, but it must be left for a future season to follow up these remains more thoroughly. A few finds of a similar description were also made at Pedda Daṇḍalūru in the same Taluk, on a spot which, tradition has it, was the encamping-ground of a great army, while at the village of Sukamancipalle, not far off, an ancient Śiva temple was discovered almost completely buried in a mound of sand. Some loose sculptured images which were unearthed here in the course of exposing the temple have been removed to the Madras Museum.

Finally, it remains to mention some tentative excavations made by Mr. Taw Sein Ko among the remains of Halingyi, Kōkkogwa and Pagan in Burma, though for the most part, it must be said that they were singularly devoid of archæological interest. The only remains which yielded results of any practical value were two small pagodas near Pagan, a short description of which will be published by Mr. Taw Sein Ko later. Of the antiquities found in these pagodas two deserve special comment; the one is a small terra-cotta plaque inscribed in characters of a Dravidian-looking type, the other is a representation of three figures which Mr. Taw Sein Ko takes as the Buddhist trinity and suggests may furnish evidence for the presence of Lamaism in Burma. But whether this deduction will commend itself to other scholars is open to question.

Nothing, it will be seen, has been done in the way of excavation in the circles of Western India and the Frontier. In the former circle there are still large tracts of country within the confines of Rajputana and Central India, which are as yet but imperfectly explored, and the excavation of individual sites has for the present to give way to the more pressing need of discovering what monuments are still existing above

ground, of cataloguing them on systematic lines and of taking measures for their future preservation. During the past season this initial work of surveying and listing has gone on steadily in the Koṭāh and Bundi, and Mewār States of Rajputana and much interesting and valuable material has been collected by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. For an account of this the reader must be referred to the Provincial Report for Western India and particularly to the descriptions of Mukandarrā, Āṁvāṁ, Atru, Bijoliā, Menal Ekliṅgjī and Nāgdā. The same report also contains some interesting information regarding several sites in the Central Provinces and Berar, notably the Narnālā Fort, Gāvilgaṛh, Chāndā, Mansar and Rāmṭek.

As regards the Frontier Province, I have already explained in Part I of this Annual the reasons which limited Dr. Stein's archæological activity, and precluded him from any attempt at conservation work or excavations. One short journey, however, of exploration, which amidst his educational duties Dr. Stein found time to make through the hitherto inaccessible mountain tract of the Mahāban range, well deserves notice. It took him into a region where two archæological problems of exceptional interest awaited solution, the one connected with the identification of the Rock Aornos, famous in the history of Alexander's Indian campaign, the other with the spot, hallowed in the annals of Buddhism, where Buddha was fabled to have offered in a previous birth his body to a starving tigress. As regards the first problem, Dr. Stein's survey of Mahāban was of a purely negative value, in that it proved beyond all question that the natural features of that mountain are totally dissimilar from those of Mount Aornos as described by the historians of Alexander, and demolished, consequently, at a sweep, the topographical arguments in favour of their identity, which have been accepted by scholars generally for the last fifty years. The disappointment, however, which Dr. Stein naturally felt at this discovery, was compensated, in some measure, by his finding on Mount Banj the remains of an important Buddhist sanctuary, which he identifies, with great probability, as the long sought for sanctuary of the body offering. Dr. Stein's arguments for this identification are in the main topographical, based on the indications, given in Song Yun and Hiuen Thsang, of the position of the site in its relation to the capital of Udyāna and the kingdom of Uraśā. These arguments were first advanced by Mr. Édouard Chavannes, to whom belongs the merit of having first indicated the direction in which this site was to be looked for, but much additional support is lent to them both by the character and relative position of the actual remains discovered on Mount Banj by Dr. Stein, and by his observations of the natural surroundings of the locality and particularly of the presence of that red coloured soil remarked on as such a distinctive feature by Hiuen Thsang.

J. H. MARSHALL.

NOTE ON EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.

As it has been decided that the Kasia excavations will be resumed during next cold season, it is the object of the present paper to give a succinct account of this year's operations, which, though not devoid of interest, have not led to definite results. This applies, in the first place, to the important question of the identity of Kasia with Kusinārā, the place where the Buddha entered *Nirvāṇa*. This identification, it will be remembered, first proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham,[1] was generally accepted, when excavations carried on by his assistant, Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle,[2] in 1875-77 revealed a colossal image of the dying Buddha enshrined in a brick temple, and facing north like the *Nirvāṇa* statue described by Hiuen Tsiang [3] at Kusinārā.

A careful comparison of the existing remains with the data furnished by the Chinese pilgrims has, however, raised grave doubts with some scholars as to the correctness of the proposed identity. Mr. Vincent A. Smith,[4] who devoted special attention to the subject, even expressed the view that Kasia cannot possibly be identified with Kusinārā. I may state at once that, though admitting the invalidity of some of the arguments adduced by Cunningham and Carlleyle, I cannot accept Mr. Smith's negative conclusion. It seems to me that this author, while overestimating the value of Fa-Hien's and Hiuen Tsiang's figures for distances, underrates the demonstrative power of the colossal *Nirvāṇa* statue of Kasia.

Dr. Waddell's observation that " such images were usual at great relic shrines " is nothing more than a hypothesis based on the occurrence of such images in Ceylon and Further India, and is hardly supported by Cunningham's suggestion that the so-called nine-yard graves mark the positions of similar images in India proper. The fact remains that, though Buddha's death is a favourite subject in Buddhist art, no other large-size statue of the dying Buddha has been found in any of the Indian sites excavated during the last century—a circumstance especially noteworthy if we remember the endless number of seated and standing Buddha images which crowd the museums of India. It is also remarkable to find this colossal image carved out of one block of stone on a spot where for miles around no stone is found and where it cannot have been erected but at considerable expense and labour.

[1] A. S. R., Vol. I, p. 76 ff.

[2] A. S. R., Vol. XVIII, p. 55 ff. and XXII, p. 16 ff.

[3] Si-yu-ki (transl. Beal), Vol. II, p. 32.

[4] The remains near Kasia, Allahabad, 1896, and J. R. A. S. (1902), p. 139 ff. See also Dr. W. Hoey, J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, 74 ff., and LXX, Pt. I, p. 29 f.

The great holiness attaching to the site is not only proved by the number of sanctuaries grouped around the *Nirvāna* temple, but is emphasised by the absence of any large city site in the immediate neighbourhood. Thus one of Mr. Smith's arguments against the identification may be adduced in its favour. All accounts agree that Kusinārā (unknown to Brahmanical literature) derived its importance solely from its association with Buddha's death. Our oldest source[1] calls it "a small wattle and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township." The fact that no trace is now visible above ground of a small country town which the Chinese pilgrims found in ruins, need, in my opinion, as little excite our wonder, as the disappearance of the river which separated it from the sacred *sāl* grove in which Buddha died.

Mr. V. A. Smith fully recognised the importance of the Buddhist site near Kasia, apart from its supposed identity with the scene of Buddha's death. It was on his recommendation that the Government of the United Provinces sanctioned a sum of R1,000 for the excavation of the mound known as Māthā Kũar kā Koṭ,[2] the centre of which is occupied by the temple of the dying Buddha. It was decided that the Provincial Archæological Surveyor, Mr. Edmund Smith, would conduct the operations. But his lamented death, and the prolonged vacancy following it, prevented the work from being taken in hand for several years. On Mr. Marshall's recommendation, the Local Government decided that I should superintend the proposed excavations. On the 28th November 1904, the work was started, and, but for the Christmas recess, continued till the 28th February 1905. Of the sum sanctioned R998 were spent.

My Assistant, P. Hirananda, took an equal share in the supervision of the excavations during the first month. After Christmas, P. Daya Ram, holder of an archæological scholarship, who, with the consent of the Director General of Archæology, was temporarily attached to my staff, proved of much help in looking after the work and registering the daily finds. My clerk and head-draftsman also assisted, when necessary, in supervising the workmen. Babu Kashi Ram, Sub-Overseer, P. W. D., stationed at Kasia, was of great help to me in supplying labour and in many other respects. In the course of the work fourteen drawings were made and fifty-three photographs taken by my two draftsmen and photographer.

Summary of Excavations.

It will be remembered that the two main buildings of the site, namely, the *stūpa* (A) and temple (B) of the dying Buddha, had been completely excavated by Mr. Carlleyle, to whose account I refer. The excavation of the plinth on which these two buildings are raised had yet to be completed, especially on the south side. An excavation of the plinth itself, as far as was feasible, revealed traces of earlier shrines which once stood on the site of the present temple. At some distance to the east of the great *stūpa*, a detached mound overgrown with vegetation marked the site of

[1] *The Book of the Great Decease* (*Mahāparinibbāna*-sutta), Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, p. 100.

[2] With Mr. Smith I reject Cunningham's interpretation of Māthā Kũar as "the Dead Prince." The alternate form *Mahthā* suggests a derivation from Sanskrit *Mahāsthāna*, "a sacred place." We may assume that this designation, originally applied to the site, has been preserved in the name of the seated Buddha image worshipped in the immediate vicinity.

a monument of considerable size, the nature of which had not yet been established by previous explorers. Mr. Smith surmised it to be a brick temple. This mound was completely excavated so as to leave little doubt that the remains it contained belong to a *stūpa* (C) of an uncommon type. Between this building and the central group remnants of ancient walling were discovered, comprising a chamber (H), the early date of which is proved by the large size of the bricks, as well as by a find of coins, the only one made in the course of the excavations. The area south of the great *stūpa* and *Nirvāṇa* temple was completely excavated for a width of twenty yards from the building C above described, up to the bungalow built on the mound by Mr. Carlleyle. A great number of basements of small *stūpas* of various shapes and sizes, besides some other monuments, came to light. The excavation to the north of the central group did not reveal any monuments of consequence except the basement of a *stūpa* adjoining the north-west corner of the plinth. Finally, the excavation of the large building D, which occupies the north-west portion of the mound, though not yet completed, confirmed the surmise of former explorers, as to its representing a Buddhist monastery (*saṅghārāma*).

I wish now to describe in detail the various buildings exposed by this year's excavations, which will at the same time afford an opportunity for noting the objects discovered in the course of the work. The finds were far less in number and significance than the importance of the site would have led one to anticipate. This is perhaps due to the circumstance that the Buddhist sanctuaries of Kasia do not appear to have met with a violent end, but gradually fell into ruin, so that any objects of value which they may have contained, had been removed long before the site became buried and covered by forests. It was especially disappointing that but few inscribed, and no dated, documents were found. In the absence of the latter, it is mainly on internal evidence that a tentative history of these monuments can be based.

Earlier Nirvāṇa Temples.

In the course of his excavation of the *Nirvāṇa* temple (B) Mr. Carlleyle[1] noticed on three sides of this building remains of an earlier shrine. It is a much larger building, and therefore a fitter receptacle for the colossal Buddha image, which wholly fills the cella in which it is now placed, so as hardly to leave room for the processions of the faithful. There can be little doubt that the present clumsy building, restored by Mr. Carlleyle, belongs to the expiring days of Indian Buddhism and that the image was previously placed in the larger shrine. This may not only be inferred from the position of the image with regard to this temple, but also from the circumstance, noted by Mr. Carlleyle, that the image had been previously mended; it must have become damaged in the ruin of the earlier shrine.

A detailed description of the image would be out of place in the present paper; but there is one point I wish to emphasise, as being of particular interest for the history of the buildings. In front of the couch of the dying Buddha there are three mourning figures, the central one of which is seated cross-legged with its back turned towards the spectator.[2] Below this figure an inscription is found which was

---

[1] A. S. R., Vol. XVIII, p. 66. The outline of the building as shown on Plate V is inaccurate.

[2] See a similar figure in the *Nirvāṇa* sculpture on Plate L. *Cave Temples of India.*

deciphered by Dr. J. F. Fleet,[1] who assigns it to the end of the fifth century. From his wording one obtains the impression that the epigraph belongs solely to the figure below which it is engraved. It will therefore be well to point out that such a figure is universally found on representations of Buddha's death. M. Foucher[2] has proposed to identify him with Subhadra, the Master's last convert. There can be no doubt that not this figure alone, but the whole *Nirvāṇa* image of which it forms an essential feature, is referred to in the inscription as the gift of the abbot Haribala, and on account of the character may be assigned to the end of the fifth century A.D.



Fig. 1.

Now the question arises whether the earlier temple mentioned above is contemporaneous with the image. Mr. Cousens informs me that the earliest temples with recessed corners like the one under discussion belong to the seventh or eighth century and that before that time they were square or rectangular in ground-plan.[3] Thus, there may have existed a third temple in which the image stood originally, unless it stood in the open.

At present, remnants of the temple with recessed corners exist only on two sides, *viz.*, to the north and south of the present shrine. On the north side, the outline is quite distinct, but on the south the little that remains of that building forms a confused mass with the basements of *stūpas* of an apparently late date raised over

[1] Gupta inscriptions, Corpus Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 272.

[2] L'art gréco-boudhique du Gandhāra, Vol. I, p. 567.

[3] Mr. Cousens' statement may be true as regards the extant examples of temples in Western India, but it is obvious from the remains recently excavated at Sarnāth that this familiar form of building goes back to a very much earlier date than the seventh or eighth century.—[Ed.]

its ruins. It is not clear from Mr. Carlleyle's account, what remains he found on the third or east side of the present temple. But it will be seen from the accompanying plan that, if it were to be restored here, so as to correspond to the northern and southern sides, its plan would overlap that of the *stūpa*, as it stands now. It follows that this building, if it existed at the same time with the earlier temple, must have been smaller in diameter.

The excavations revealed the interesting fact that the plinth, on which both these buildings stand, contains remains of an earlier structure, characterised by a row of deep niches alternating with pilasters of carved bricks. A portion of this older plinth south of the temple entrance had been laid bare by Mr. Carlleyle, who, however, erroneously connected it with the earlier temple just referred to. (*Cf.* Plate VIII a.) That there can be no connection between the two buildings is evident from the position of two niches excavated by me to the north and south of the temple entrance. The plan both of the present and of the earlier temple overlaps these niches. Clearly the niches were filled and the plinth was extended to its present size in order to render the erection of the earlier temple possible. The early plinth with the niches is therefore anterior to the early temple, with the recessed corners. I may note also that these two buildings do not stand in the same axis.

The niches of the earlier plinth once contained seated Buddha images of stucco, the remains of one of which was found *in situ* in the niche north of the temple entrance and under the north-west corner of the ante-chamber. In the corresponding niche to the south, an object of no less interest was discovered, namely, a terra-cotta plaque (ht. 64 cm.) with the projecting figure of a Buddha seated cross-legged. Both arms are broken, but evidently the hands were joined in front of the breast, where the break is still visible. The attitude must therefore have been that of expounding the sacred Law (*dharmacakramudrā*). The drapery, which is clearly indicated, covers both shoulders. The head was found detached and slightly injured. It has a rounded *uṣṇīṣa*, but no *ūrṇā*. The hair is arranged in curls turned to the right. The features are well moulded, the eyes large. The image must have been enclosed in a circular border, probably meant for a halo. Only beneath the image a portion is preserved decorated with a row of miniature elephants carrying flowers and placed alternately horizontally and vertically. Along this border there runs an inscription greatly obliterated. Enough, however, remains to show that it is a votive inscription in the formula of the Gupta period and that the character is that of the fifth century A.D.



Fig. 2.

This circumstance lends the find particular interest, as it clearly shows that the filling of the niches and erection of the temple with recessed corners cannot have taken place before the fifth century. We may even say that presumably it happened

a considerable time afterwards, considering the condition in which the terra-cotta was found. The niches, as we saw, served the purpose of containing stucco Buddha figures. The plaque certainly did not belong to the niche in which it was found. Its rounded shape indicates that it belonged to some building; possibly it filled a medallion over the temple entrance. If so, the natural conclusion would be that it formed part of that hypothetical earliest temple which originally contained the *Nirvāṇa* image, and which consequently must have been built towards the end of the fifth century.

It is a question of great interest, whether the earlier plinth with the niches can have belonged to this temple or formed part of some still earlier building. I feel inclined to assume the latter alternative, though my explorations have not yielded any conclusive proof. The following points, however, may be noticed. The rows of niches with Buddha figures separated by ornamental pilasters suggest a Buddhist *stūpa* much more than a temple. On the *stūpas* of Gandhāra this feature is commonly found[1] and it would seem that the Kasia building was ultimately derived from that country. Carved bricks of the same type, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, are said to originate from Ahichattra.[2] They were discovered by Dr. Führer, who assigns them to the first and second centuries B.C. This date seems somewhat too early, but they may belong to the Kuṣaṇa period.

The early plinth has a projection with an ornamental cornice; on this was built the casing which forms the present plinth, except on the west side where the lower portion of the earlier plinth also was enclosed in the casing. Everywhere else the early plinth has now become exposed. It is noteworthy that at various points we find minor buildings partly engaged in the projecting part of the early plinth. These are on the east, the *stūpas* nos. 1, 2 and 3; to the south, the *stūpa* no. 6, and to the west, the *stūpa* no. 12. To these may be added nos. 4 and 5 which, though detached from the plinth, are built on the same basement as nos. 2 and 3. Evidently these structures belong to an earlier date. But the presence of such votive *stūpas* can only be explained by assuming that they surrounded some large-sized monument. Thus we are led to assume that the early plinth with its ornamental brickwork was preceded by some still earlier building, presumably a *stūpa*, round which those minor monuments were erected.

The conclusions arrived at can be summarised as follows. At an early date there must have existed on the site of the *Nirvāṇa* temple some important monument, presumably a *stūpa*, round which the votive *stūpas*, noted above, were erected. Presumably, in the Kuṣaṇa period, another monument was erected on a double plinth which is still extant. In the lower projecting portion the surrounding minor buildings then extant were partially enclosed. The upper portion had a row of niches with Buddha figures separated by pilasters, such as are found on Buddhist buildings in the Peshāwar district. On the ruins of this monument a temple, presumably rectangular in shape, was raised in the end of the fifth century to contain the *Nirvāṇa* image, made by order of the abbot Haribala. Two or three centuries later the temple with recessed corners was built. In order to find sufficient space for this building, the niches of the old plinth were bricked up and the plinth was encased and extended

[1] Foucher *op. cit.*, p. 201, Fig. 81.

[2] *Annual Report of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, for the year ending 31st March 1892.

westward. Finally, when the second temple had collapsed, a third shrine was built of rectangular shape and smaller dimensions. This is the temple discovered and restored by Mr. Carlleyle.

At the present stage of my explorations these conclusions will have to be considered as tentative. A further examination of the plinth may either confirm or modify them. So much is certain, that on the spot of the *Nirvāṇa* temple there have existed a series of buildings, one being raised over the ruins of the other.

Building C.

To the east of the *stūpa*, Cunningham[1] noticed a small detached mound, 16′ 3″ in height. In its top he made an excavation which he abandoned after reaching a depth of 4′ 3″, as he found only broken bricks mixed with earth. Subsequently Mr. Carlleyle[2] made, in this mound, "a sort of general superficial excavation" from which he gathered the impression that it contained the remains of a terraced building. This impression, it will be seen, was correct, but from his equally superficial account it would seem that he found more than three terraces, "culminating in what appeared to be a flat square of a small diameter." This statement does not agree with the actual state of the remains as found by me, and is the more remarkable since Mr. Carlleyle evidently missed the lower of the two terraces of which the building actually consists. He gives the base of the mound to be 50′ in diameter whereas the lowest terrace measures no less than 90′. After reading his note, it is surprising to find that on his plan of the site, subsequently published, the centre of that eastern mound (which here is nearly 75′ in diameter) is marked by a distinct plan of a temple-like building, some 19′ square, of which no mention is made in the text. As the existing remains show no trace of such a structure, it may be questioned whether this is anything more than phantasy. This drawing, together with the discovery of a Gaṇeśa image on this side of the *stūpa*, possibly led Mr. Vincent Smith to the supposition that the mound contained a temple. But neither this hypothesis, nor Mr. Carlleyle's suggestion, that the stone pillar mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang stood on the top of this mound, has been confirmed by my excavations.

On the plan accompanying Mr. Smith's report a moulded wall is shown along the western side of the mound, running north and south and connected with a flight of steps on its north end. These remains, I understand, were excavated by Dr. Hoey. Of his operations no account is available to me, but I found the excavated portion exactly as shown on Mr. Smith's plan. After widening out the old trenches, we continued them and thus obtained the outline of the building. In tracing the outer wall much inconvenience was caused by the injudicious way in which the débris of former excavations had been heaped up on the south-eastern portion of the mound.

The wall, thus traced, was found to enclose a plinth 90′ square, with a rectangular extension 16′ wide along three-quarters of its north side. The west end of this extension, it will be seen, consists of the flight of steps already noted, which lead up to the lower terrace. As to the outer wall itself, its foot is 5′ below the level of the surrounding fields. On the south and east sides the outer wall is, as it were, distorted,

[1] A. S. R., Vol. I, p. 78, Plate XXVI (c).
[2] A. S. R., Vol. XVIII, p. 84 f.
[3] A. S. R., Vol. XXII, Plate III.

and, at places, overhanging, owing to the pressure outward. It is much better preserved on the west side, probably owing to the vicinity of the *stūpa*. Here it rises to its original height of 5′, and is decorated with three string courses, each consisting of two projecting courses of bricks, the upper courses being bevelled in the lowest and uppermost mouldings. These project at a height of 2′ 10″, 3′ 5″ and 4′ respectively from the foot of the wall (see Plate IX, elevation CC). On the north side, these string courses are only partially preserved between the north-west corner of the plinth and the steps. Of the latter, four are still extant.

Upon the terrace formed by the plinth just described there rises a second and smaller terrace leaving a margin or procession path around its four sides. Its width is about 12′, but it varies owing to the sides of the two terraces not being parallel. A pavement of brick tiles, 11″ square, is partly preserved along the inner wall. The northern extension has also portions of brick pavement, the tiles being 9″ by 8″ and 7″. The inner wall or plinth of the upper terrace is of a rather complicated construction. From it projects a moulded basement 3′ wide and 1½′ high. From this the wall rises to a height of some 3′. That this was its original height may be inferred from a series of projecting pilasters 2′ 4″ high, placed at equal distances, and resting on the basement. Only one specimen, in the centre of the northern wall, is almost entire, and may be described thus. The lower portion of its shaft, which rests on the basement of the wall, consists of five rectangular bricks, in courses one upon another, the upper portion of the shaft of four bricks with chamfered corners, and the neck of one semi-circular brick.

The capital must have consisted of three bricks, the middle one rectangular[1] enclosed between the broad sides of two others which were bevelled. But the uppermost of these three bricks is missing. It will be seen that these dwarf pilasters do not project direct from the face of the wall, but from the face of broad shallow buttresses. That these buttresses were added to serve the definite purpose of support, seems highly probable, the present state of the wall, which is altogether out of plumb, showing their necessity. That they, as well as the bottom projection, were a later addition, or at least an afterthought, is evidenced by the circumstance that the lower part of the wall now masked by the latter is provided with mouldings. At its south-east corner, this wall was traced 3′ below the level of the procession path. Here the bricks were found to measure 9½″ x 7″ x 2″.

Along the west and south sides, the pilasters, just described, are no longer extant, the upper portion of the wall having entirely disappeared. On the east side, the central portion of the wall still remains, with ten pilasters all incomplete, and displaced by the outward pressure. Towards the centre the pilasters are naturally somewhat better preserved than towards the ends, where little more than their bases remain. They are best preserved along the north side, where nine specimens are extant, but all, except one, more or less injured. Originally the number of pilasters was probably the same on each side. As they are placed at distances of 4′ from centre to centre, and the length of the wall each side is 62′, we may assume that there stood sixteen along each wall, two of which were placed at the corners. It may further be surmised that these rows of pilasters supported a plain cornice, of the

[1] It is shown semi-circular on the drawing.



same section as the two preserved in the basement of the wall. It is true that along the foot of the wall portions of carved bricks were found. These certainly belong to a cornice, but my impression is that they belong to some earlier building. Their size, which must have been 15″×9″×3″, points to this conclusion, and also the fact that no such ornamental bricks are found in any part of the building except in the northern wall of the lower platform near the flight of steps where they are evidently not *in situ*.

In the space enclosed within the pilastered walls, I did not succeed in tracing any distinct structural remains. But the enclosing walls suggest a third platform with a procession path on the four sides, and this supposition derives some additional support from the fact that, where the pilasters of the northern wall cease towards the east, there are distinct traces of a flight of steps. It will be noticed that by following thus the procession path from the lower steps one will circumambulate the enclosed space twice, keeping the centre of the mound always to the right.

The question now arises, what sacred monument once stood in the centre of the mound and was thus reverently approached by the faithful? Mr. Carlleyle while adopting Cunningham's identification of Kasia with Kusinārā suggested that it was the inscribed pillar mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Apart from the fact that memorial pillars were never, as far as I know, raised on such elaborate basements, there can be little doubt that the edifice in question is considerably later than the seventh century. From Hiuen Tsiang's account it would, moreover, seem that the pillar stood in front of the temple of the dying Buddha. So much is certain that, though a wide trench was dug all along the outer walls of the building, no vestige of a pillar was found.

That the top of the mound was once occupied by a temple as suggested by Mr. Smith is hardly more probable. The succession of terraces with the continuous procession path, and the inner wall with its row of dwarf pilasters, would rather suggest a *stūpa*, though, I admit, of an uncommon type. The condition of the interior of the mound points to the same conclusion. In its centre a pit was sunk 7′ deep. The core was found to consist of irregular layers of bricks (9″×10″) laid in mud. If my conclusion is correct, the supposed *stūpa* would, therefore, have been a memorial and not a relic-holding one, unless we must assume that it was robbed of its relics previously. This certainly would account for the total disappearance of its dome and drum; but unfortunately the remaining portion of the building does not help us to arrive at any certainty.

Building H.

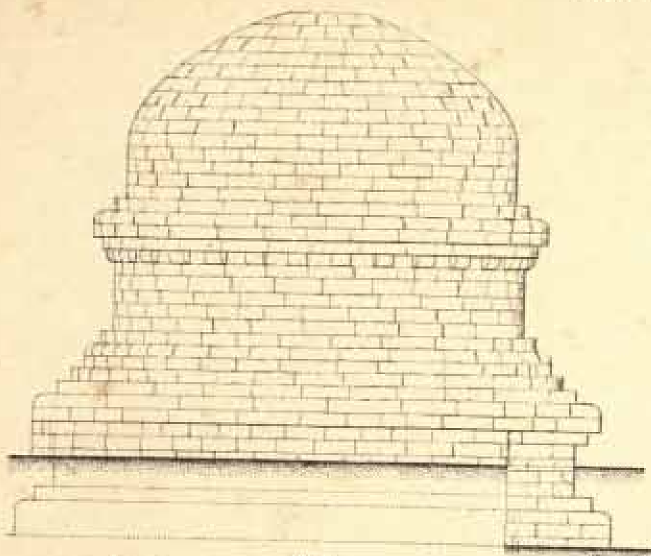
To the west of the steps, leading up to the lower terrace of the *stūpa*-like building just described, remains of walls were found enclosing a room of 8′ 4″ by 9′ 7″. These walls, of which only three courses now remain, are 1′ 7″ thick. The size of the bricks measuring 19″×10″×3″ and 18″×10″×2¾″, the largest type found on the Kasia site, shows that the building to which they belong dates back to an earlier period than the other monuments. Bricks of the same size have been found in the Piprāhvā *stūpa*. I am therefore inclined to assign the remains in question to the Maurya period. This conclusion is confirmed by a find of coins, the only one made in the course of the excavations. It will be seen on the plan that the east wall of the

room H is prolonged northward in the direction of the group of votive *stūpas*, marked E. In the corner formed by this continuation of the east wall and by the north wall twelve copper coins were discovered, of which four belong to the reign of Kadphises II, and eight to that of Kaniṣka. Among the latter there are five with the effigy of the sun-god Mihira, one with the wind-god Vāta and two with the four-armed Ugra-Śiva. The coins, especially those of Kaniṣka, are well preserved. They were found mixed with charred substance, so that there is reason to assume that the building, in which they were discovered, was destroyed by fire. The time at which this happened is determined by the coins as that of the great Kuṣaṇa kings, and the date of its erection may consequently fall in the period of the Mauryas. What remains of the building H is too scanty to allow us to decide on its nature and object. Apparently it formed part of a larger building, portions of which are possibly hidden under the later monuments around. The existence of buildings of the Maurya period on the site of Kasia is in itself a point of considerable interest. Finally, it should be noticed that the orientation of these ancient walls which run from south-south-east to north-north-west and from west-south-west to east-north-east is different from that of the remaining monuments.

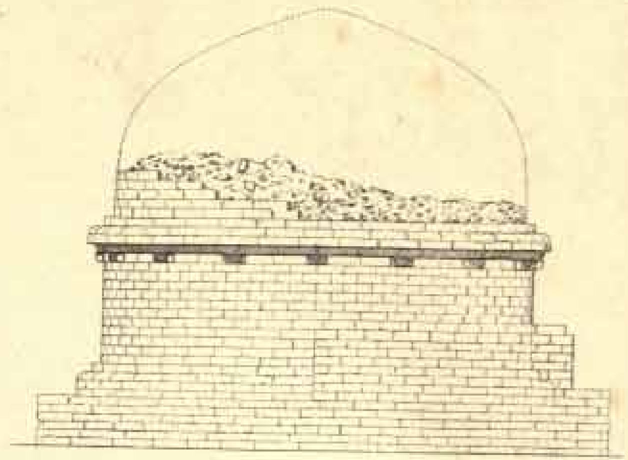
Along the middle portion of the west wall of building C, an old wall, some 40′ in length, came to light. It belongs to some early building which it was impossible further to explore, as it is hidden under the later monument just mentioned. To the west of these remains we meet with a group of five small sized *stūpas* already noted in connection with the large *stūpa* plinth in which three of them are engaged. These five monuments were unearthed by Mr. Carlleyle and are shown on his plan of the central group. Here I wish only to note the following point. According to Mr. Carlleyle's plan three of these *stūpas* (nos. 1, 2 and 5) are each raised on a square base, whereas the remaining two (nos. 3 and 4) are circular in plan. Further excavation, however, has revealed the fact that the supposed bases are only later additions built in connection with a later pavement. In reality no. 1 has a circular plan, whereas nos. 2 to 5 are raised on a common plinth, rectangular in shape, 38″ long and 2′ 4″ high. On the east side of this plinth, 25′ 6″ from the north-east corner, there is a junction of masonry, from which it appears that nos. 4 and 5 were built at a later date than the others.

The above remarks, trivial though they may seem, are not without interest for the history of these remains. The fact that each of these *stūpas* consists solely of a drum and a dome shows that they belong to the earliest type of *stūpas* known, and presumably belong to the Maurya period. It may be argued that the bricks of which they are built are much smaller than those commonly assigned to that period. It is true that in general a larger size of bricks points to an earlier date; but there is no reason to assume that in the Maurya period such enormous bricks were exclusively used as have been found in the interior of early *stūpas* like those of Sārnāth and Piprāhvā. On the contrary, it is manifest that in minor buildings like those under discussion, bricks of a much smaller size were employed. The size of the bricks alone, therefore, is in many cases an insufficient criterion for fixing the approximate date of a monument. There exists, moreover, the possibility of edifices being built with materials of much older monuments of which examples are not wanting on the site of Kasia.

Another interesting point is that the orientation of the plinth, on which the *stūpas*



1.



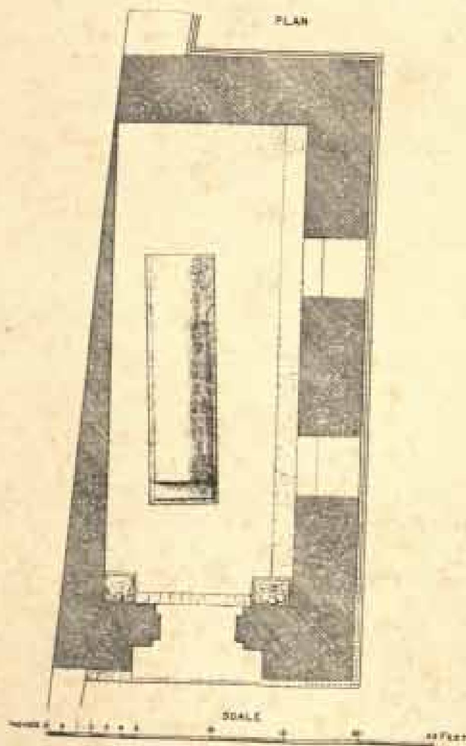
2.

SCALE

INCHES

FEET

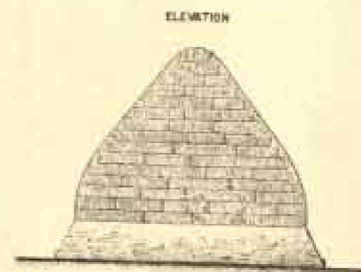
PLAN



SCALE

3 (*a*)

ELEVATION



3 (*b*)

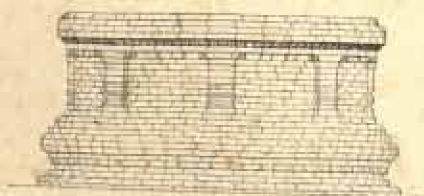
SECTION



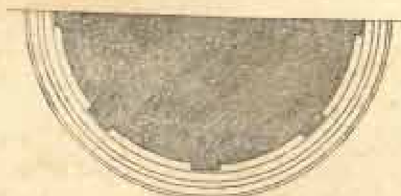
3 (*c*)



ELEVATION

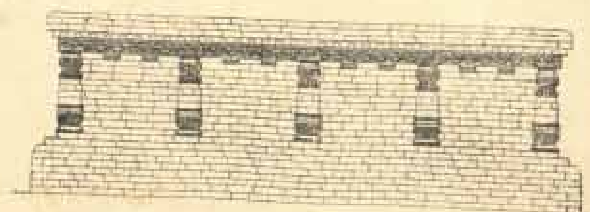


HALF PLAN

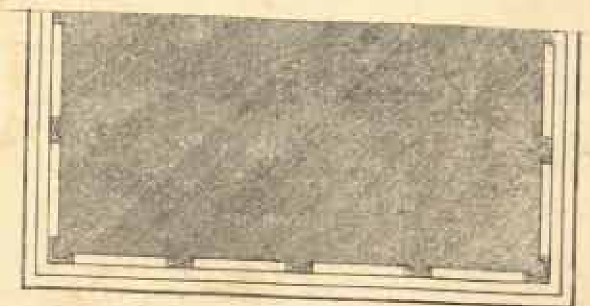


4.

ELEVATION



HALF PLAN



5.



nos. 2—5 are raised, differs from that of the large plinth of the *Nirvāṇa* buildings but agrees with that of some of those monuments to which an earlier date is to be assigned.

Southern Group of Buildings.

The importance of the central group of monuments is emphasised by the number of the surrounding buildings. The space to the south of the plinth on which the temple and *stūpa* of the *Nirvāṇa* stand, was found to be covered with minor buildings, mostly small-sized *stūpas* standing close together and not infrequently built one over the other. Altogether, twenty-six different monuments can be distinguished; of most of these only the basements now remain. The relative position and shape of the various buildings will be evident from the accompanying plan,[1] of only the more important will a detailed description be required.

Building F.—Cf. Plate XIII, 3 (*a*). An edifice, of an exceptional kind, is found immediately south of the temple of the dying Buddha at the foot of the large plinth on which that temple stands. At first sight it would seem that the building in question, like the *stūpas* nos. 1—3, 6 and 12, is partially engaged in the projecting portion of the large plinth, and consequently would belong to an earlier period. A close inspection, however, of those portions of the masonry which join on to the temple plinth leaves no doubt that building F is contemporaneous with the early plinth of ornamental brickwork to which the projection belongs. The mouldings at the foot of the wall are continued along both buildings, and the size of the bricks (15″ × 8½″ × 2″) is the same.

Its orientation, which differs from that of the large plinth, was no doubt determined by the curious structure it contains, for which consequently we may claim a date anterior to the building of the early plinth. The structure in question, which occupies the longer axis of building F, resembles most closely a Muhammadan grave [Plate XIII, 3 (*b*) and (*c*)]. It is built of bricks of about the same size as those of the early temple plinth (11″ × 9″ × 2½″), laid in such a manner as to present the appearance of a vaulted passage and covered with a layer of mud plaster 2″ to 3″ thick. On being opened at the west end, the interior was found to be a solid mass of earth and brickbats, intermixed with fragments of pottery and terra-cotta. Some pieces of heavy bricks, 9½″ broad and 3″ thick, deserve special notice as pointing to an early date for this monument. The interior was excavated as far as possible, but nothing of interest came to light. To the west, this grave-like structure has a projecting threshold. The other end was crushed under a heavy wall of later date 8′ 8″ long, the foot of which is 10″ above the level of the shrine.

The building comprising the mysterious structure just described is rectangular in shape. It has heavy and carefully built walls 4′ 8″ thick. It must have been roofed over, as is evident from the fact that in the southern wall at a distance of 7′ 6″ from the south-east corner inside there are traces of a window 3′ 10″ wide. Presumably there was a second window in this wall at an equal distance from the south-west corner. But here the wall does not reach the height at which the first window is

[1] This plan, it will be seen, contains a few buildings (nos. 30—32) which were excavated in the year 1905-06 after the demolition of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow under which they were hidden.

found. In the same wall I note the existence of three round holes evidently intended to receive wooden bars. Two are placed 16′ 4″ from the south-east corner and at a distance of 7″ one over the other. They are 9″ deep. The upper hole measures 5″ by 3″, the lower one 4″ by 4″. The third hole is found 2′ 10″ west of the lower one and 12′ 3″ from the south-west corner of the shrine. It is likewise 4″ in diameter and 9″ deep. Presumably there existed a fourth hole 7″ above the third one. But at this spot the wall ends.

Access to the ancient shrine described here is obtained from the west through a doorway 5′ 2″ in width. The little that remains of it does not allow us to form an idea of its height and construction. In each of the two corners adjoining this entrance we found remains of a terra-cotta Buddha figure, seated on a lotus throne in the attitude of meditation (*dhyānamudrā*). The original height of these figures including the pedestal must have been 4′. They rested partly on a low projection running along the south and west wall of the shrine and partly on upright bricks. (*Cf.* Plate XIV.) It will be seen that on the plan which accompanies Mr. Smith's report the place of the shrine just described is occupied by the foundations of two square buildings. (*Cf.* Plate VI.) These placed on a level with the top of the large plinth, had to be demolished in order to reach the earlier remains they concealed. The larger one of these two structures (no. 11) was 28′ square. Its north wall adjoined the plinth of the *Nirvāṇa* temple. Its walls, built of brickbats, were more than 6′ thick, enclosing a room 16′ square. This space was paved with brick tiles (10½″ × 8½″ × 1¾″), set in mud. Nothing was found to indicate the purpose of this building, but from its position with regard to the *Nirvāṇa* temple it may be surmised that it was a store-house in which the implements required for worship were kept, such as nowadays are commonly found adjoining important shrines. Its late date is evident from its level, 6′ above that of the shrine F. At the time when it was built the débris must have reached up to the top of the large plinth. Probably it was contemporaneous with the present *Nirvāṇa* temple. In the course of its demolition an inscribed clay seal, oblong in shape, was found, and half of a carved brick (5″ thick), presumably the capital of a pilaster.

The other building, situated to the west of the former, and at a distance of 8′ from the encasing wall of the temple plinth, is a *stūpa* base, 11′ 10″ square, and 2′ 8″ high, built of bricks and fragments of bricks equal in size (14¼″ × 8¾″ × 2¾″ or 2″) to those of the earlier plinth which I propose to assign to the Kuṣaṇa period. It is clear, however, that the building in question is built of old material and belongs to a much later date, its level being 5′ 10″ above that of the early temple plinth and shrine F.

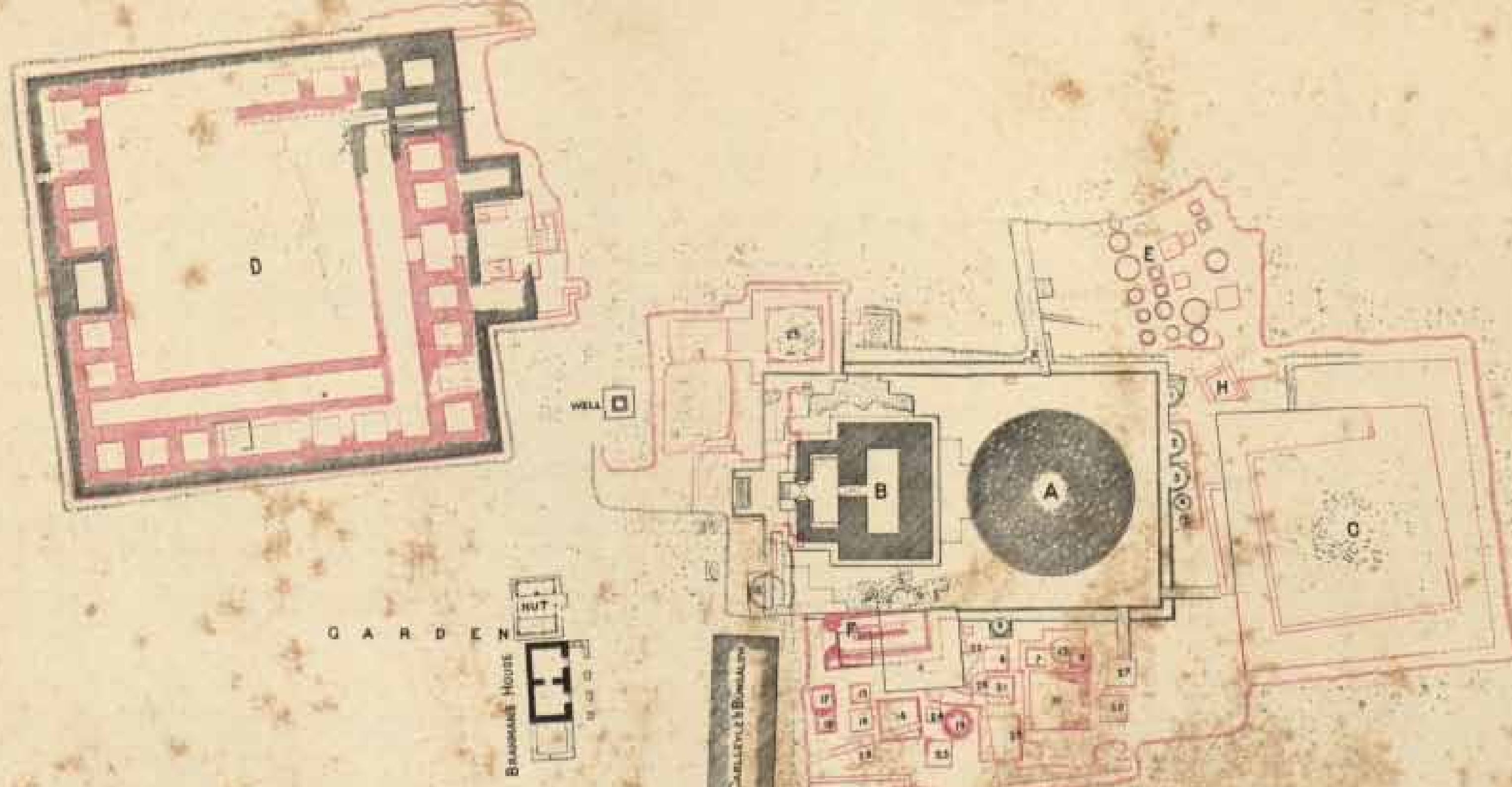
The space between the buildings just described and the earlier remains beneath was filled with a mass of fallen bricks measuring about 9″ square. Deeper down, a brick of 15″ × 9″ × 2″ was found. Among the débris inside the early shrine F, there were numerous carved bricks.

Stūpas nos. 14 and 19.—It will be seen that the group of buildings to the south of the *Nirvāṇa* temple is enclosed within a wall 1′ 8″ thick, of which only a few courses of masonry are now extant. On both sides there is a concrete floor, the level of which is 4½″ lower inside than outside the wall. At its foot a clay tablet [1] inscribed

[1] On the use of such tablets *cf.* I-Tsing—*A record of the Buddhist religion* (Takakusu), p. 151.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.





GENERAL PLAN OF SITE.

PLATE VI.



CENTRAL GROUP OF BUILDINGS FROM N.E.





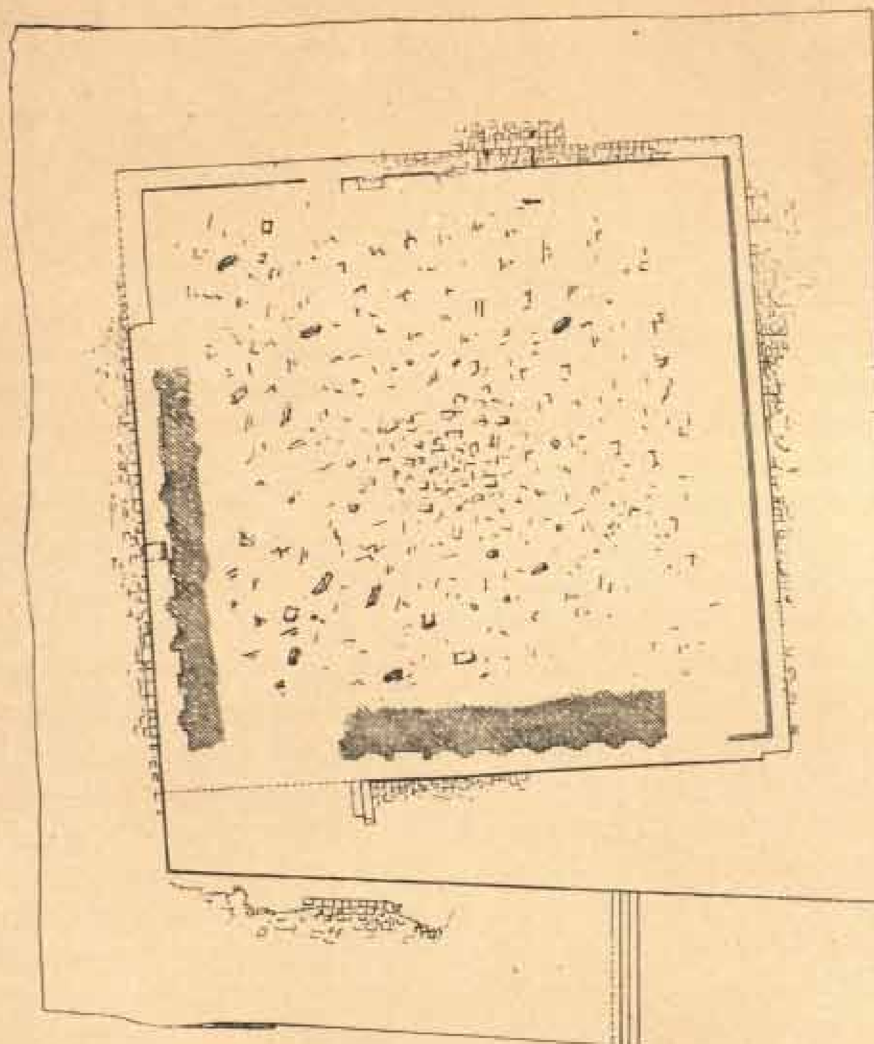
(a) BUILDINGS SOUTH OF TEMPLE B.

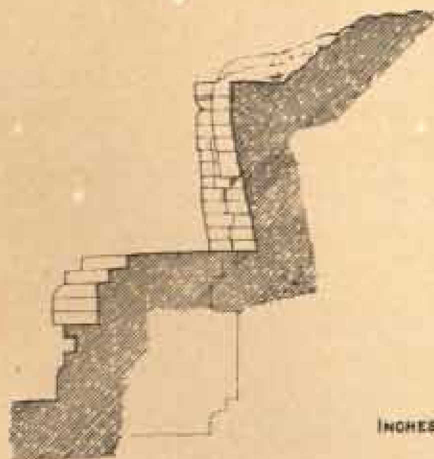
a

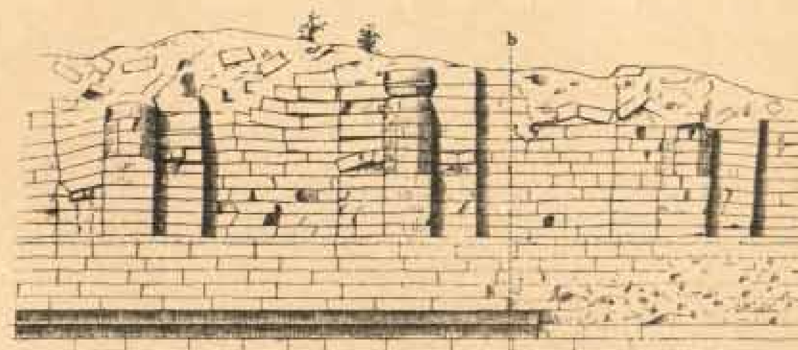


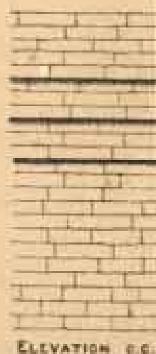
b

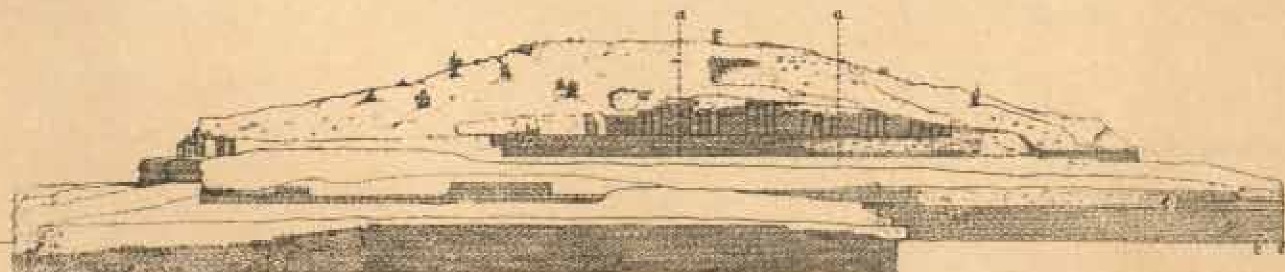
(a) PART OF EARLY PLINTH FROM WEST.
(b) BUILDINGS C AND H FROM N.W.











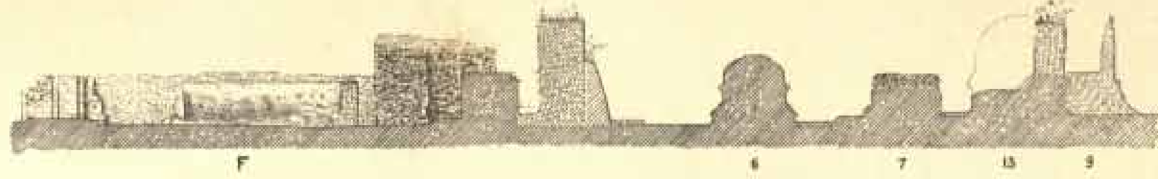
BUILDING C: PLAN, ELEVATIONS AND SECTION.

PLATE XIV.

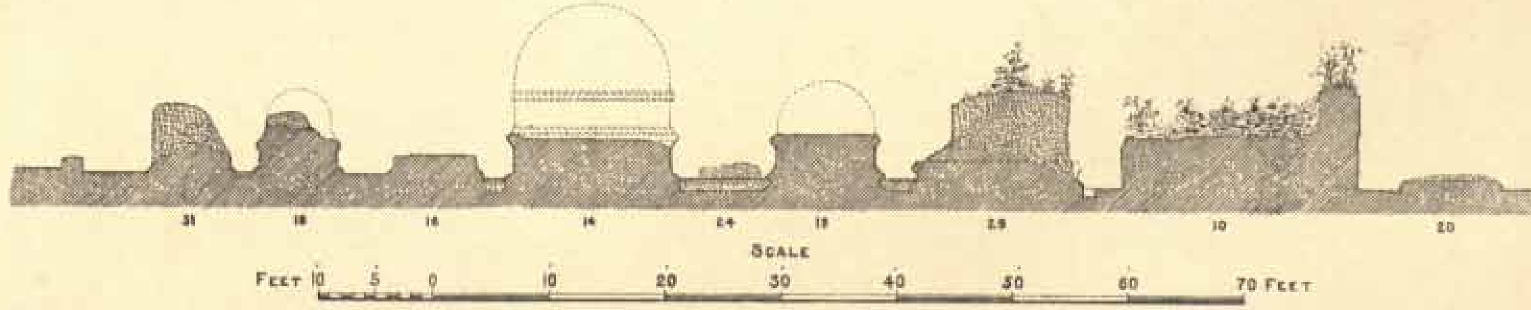
TERRA-COTTA FIGURES OF BUDDHA.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.

SECTION ON LINE A.A.

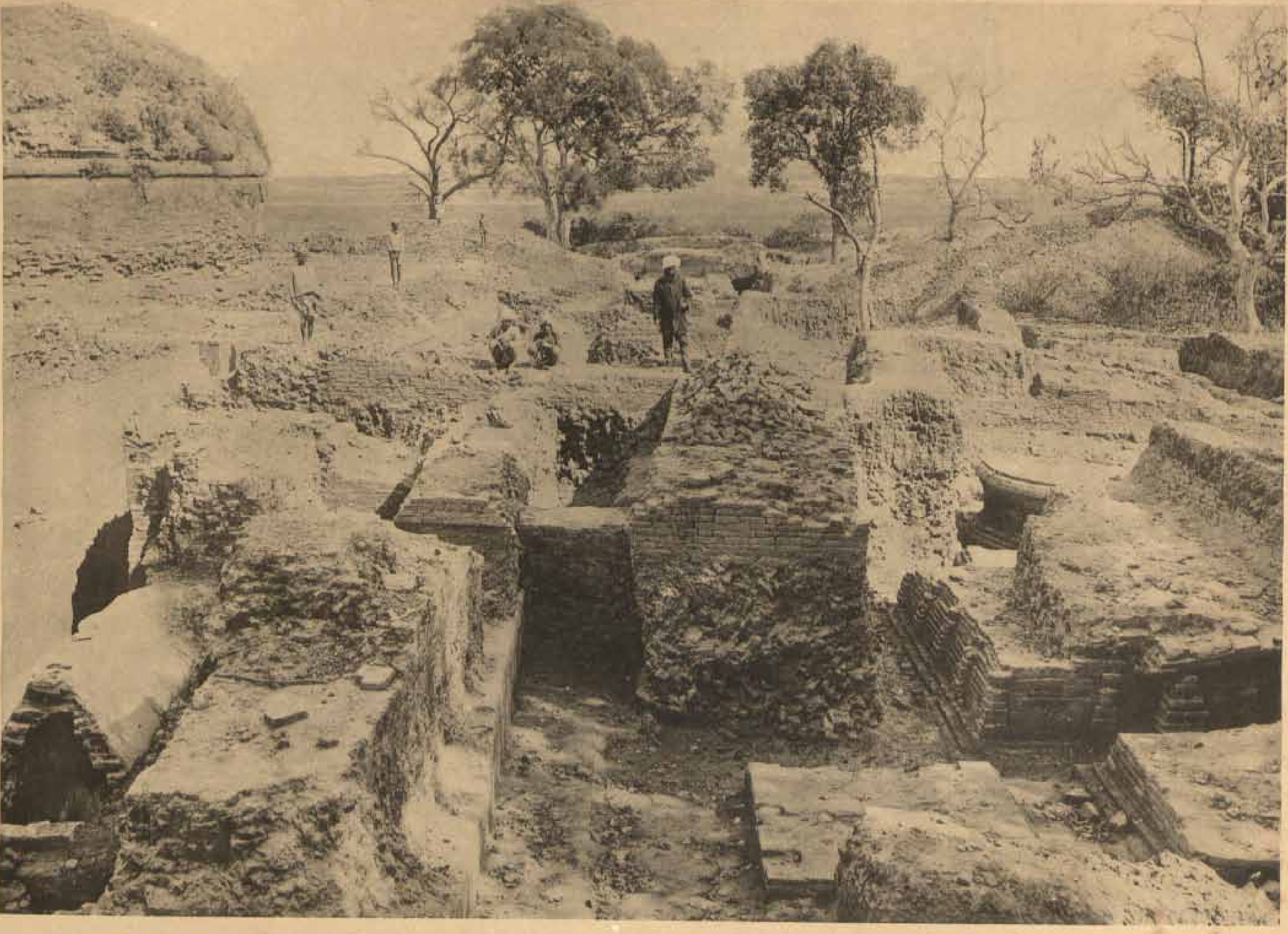


SECTION ON LINE B.B.



SOUTHERN GROUP OF BUILDINGS: PLAN AND SECTIONS.

PLATE XI.



SOUTHERN GROUP OF BUILDINGS FROM WEST.

with the Buddhist creed, and some large ornamental bricks were found. The size of the bricks, of which the wall is built, is 10″ × 6½″ × 2′. The enclosure thus formed was entered from the south through an entrance 6′ wide, opposite *stūpa* no. 23. Further eastward hardly any trace of this wall is left. Presumably, however, the wall was continued, and enclosed the whole group of monuments situated to the south of the plinth on which the temple and *stūpa* of the *Nirvāṇa* stand.

Among the monuments placed between this wall and building F, there are two which deserve special notice, to wit, those marked nos. 14 and 19. No. 14 (*cf.* Plate XIII, Fig. 5) is a *stūpa* basement 15′ square at the ground-level, and is not only conspicuous by its size but still more by its decoration of carved brickwork. The subjoined drawing will replace a detailed description. It shows the building restored to its original state. For it was found leaning over to the south as if shaken by an earthquake, and deprived of several of its pilasters and of the greater portion of its cornice. The latter is only partially extant on the west side. But enough remains to render its restoration on paper possible. It is not so easy to decide what the superstructure was like. But presumably the basement was surmounted by a dome resting on a drum and decorated with a pinnacle of terra-cotta. Rings and cones of various shapes and sizes were found in considerable numbers in the course of the excavations. I presume that they belong to pinnacles once placed on the tops of *stūpas*. A well, sunk in the centre of building no. 14, did not reveal any objects. Evidently this *stūpa* was not reared to contain relics. I note in passing that in no. 13, due south of the large *stūpa*, a vessel was found which presented the appearance of a funeral urn, but did not contain any bones. *Stūpa* no. 14 as shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 5, will convey some idea of the original aspect of the early plinth on which the temple and *stūpa* of the *Nirvāṇa* now stand. It is true that there the pilasters are of varying designs and alternate with Buddha figures placed in niches. Yet the similarity of decoration points to the same date.

The other building, no. 19 (Plate XIII, Fig. 4), is likewise decorated with carved brickwork, but of a much plainer type than that on the adjoining building just described. Its main peculiarity is its shape, which is circular in plan and not square, as is the case with all the other buildings of this group. It consists of a very low circular base with plain brackets supporting a heavy moulding. Over it rises a circular drum decorated with eight pilasters and a cornice of ornamental brickwork. This monument, like the others, can be nothing but a *stūpa* originally surmounted by a dome and an ornamental pinnacle. Its date cannot be far removed from that of no. 14 just described.

Among the remaining buildings of the southern group I wish to mention no. 6, a very complete specimen of a *stūpa* which, as noted above, must date back to a time anterior to the construction of the early *stūpa* plinth, in which it is partly engaged. It was excavated by Mr. Carlleyle and will be seen on the plan and elevation of the central group of buildings published in his report.[1] The building with its very low drum and flat appearance represents an early type of *stūpa*, not, however, the earliest type as exemplified by the Sanchi tope. In the present instance, we find the drum resting on a square basement (7′ 8″ × 7′ 8″) which, as far as we know, is not round

[1] A. S. R., Vol. XVIII, Plates V and VI.

in the *stūpas* of the Maurya period. The building, as shown on Mr. Carlleyle's plates, gives the impression of being complete. Yet it was found that under the concrete floor it has a lower basement slightly larger in size than that exposed previously. Whatever the date of this building may be, it must be earlier than the *stūpas* with ornamental brickwork described before. (*Cf.* Plate XIII, Fig. 1.)

The only other building deserving special notice is no. 10 which differs from the surrounding monuments both in size and appearance. It is nearly 20′ square at the base. The lowest portion up to a height of 3½′ consists of rough masonry. The bricks which are badly joined are of various but not very large sizes, about 7½″ to 8½″ in length on an average. Next follow six courses of very neat masonry consisting of well-joined bricks 9″ by 8″ in size. This part, which adds one foot to the height of the wall, does not stand straight on the lower portion. It is built in such a way that at the north-east and south-west corner the corner line is continued, but at the two other corners it recedes for a distance of 5″.

The uppermost part of the wall is, again, rough masonry; the bricks, 7″ by 8″, in size, are laid in mud. At its highest point it measures 4½′, thus making the total height of the wall here 9′. This upper portion, however, is only extant along the east side, except for a gap 4½′ wide, along the north side for a distance of 2½′ from the north-east corner and along the south side, for a distance of 14′ from the south-east corner. On the west side, this uppermost portion of the wall is entirely wanting; of the central portion only three to four courses are preserved here. The interior of the building consists of solid brickwork up to the top of the central portion of the outer wall. Evidently this represents the original building, perhaps the basement of a *stūpa*, on which a building was afterwards raised, either a dwelling house or a store-room. From the rough construction of its walls it appears that it was not a temple or other sanctuary.

This later building presumably belongs to the same period as the rough and irregular walling found all over the site either above or at the level of the mound. Presumably these structures were erected for temporary shelter or defence when after the final ruin of the convents and temples the site had become deserted and desolate. But the older portions of building no. 10 also must belong to a comparatively late date as is evident from the small size of the bricks and the use of carved bricks obtained from some more ancient monument. The lower rough portion of solid masonry was presumably the foundation on which the building proper was raised.

A parallel instance of such super-construction is offered by a small square building, no. 9, consisting of a single room which is partly built on the top of a ruined *stūpa*.

Monastery D.

Mr. Carlleyle[1] refers briefly in his report to a partial excavation of what he calls "the central highest part of the mound." The shape of the mound has since become considerably modified and its size reduced by encroachments of the agriculturists. At present the spot indicated by Mr. Carlleyle could be most conveniently called the north-west portion of the mound. The remains he discovered there are described as "portions of the walls of some chambers, which appeared to have belonged to a

[1] A. S. R., Vol. XXII, p. 28.

monastery, a portion of a pavement and a drain or water channel running through between the buildings." Apparently some district officer continued the excavation of this edifice by tracing its outline all along its four sides and running two trenches through the interior.

The recent excavations have confirmed Mr. Carlleyle's conclusion as to the nature of this building. It is evidently a Buddhist monastery of the usual type, but of extraordinary size and of remarkably solid construction. We may compare the monastery of Sārnāth, excavated by Major Kittoe,[1] which is similar in ground plan but much smaller in dimension. Whereas the latter building measures 107′ square, the Kasia convent extends nearly 150′ in both directions. With regard to the Sārnāth building Cunningham remarks that, judging from the thickness of the walls, it could not have been less than three or four storeys in height. From the plan published by Kittoe, the outer walls appear to be 3′, the inner 2′ in width. But the walls of the convent of Kasia have more than double this thickness, as here the figures are 8½′ for the outer and 5′ for the inner walls. In the present instance there is, therefore, even more reason to assume that the original building consisted of several storeys, an assumption which would well agree with the descriptions of such-like buildings in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims.[2]

The building, as it stands now, consists of a large central courtyard, 87′ square, with a corridor[3] along its south and east side, whilst the remaining space is occupied by four rows each of seven rooms arranged along its outer walls. These rooms, which once must have accommodated the Buddhist friars, vary slightly in size, as will be seen from the accompanying plan of the site. The shape of most of them is nearly square, but the central rooms of the eastern and western rows are rectangular and larger in size. As far as the eastern row goes, this peculiarity can be accounted for by the circumstance that here the central chamber served the purpose of an entrance room. It is the side turned towards the temple of the Dying Buddha, where we may well expect the main entrance to the monastery which owed its origin to that sanctuary. Moreover, it will be seen on the plan that the east wall of the convent has two rectangular projections of solid brickwork at a distance of 46½′ and 45′ from the north-east and south-east corners. They are 15′ wide, and project about 18′ from the face of the east wall. Evidently they are the remnants of two turrets which once flanked the entrance gate.

Each cell was originally provided with a door opening on the central courtyard or, in the case of the eastern and southern rows, on the corridors. These doors are invariably bricked up in such a manner that the regular masonry rests on a layer of fallen bricks and débris. The circumstance points to a restoration and second occupation of the building. Apparently at a time when the edifice had become partially ruined it was considered necessary for some reason or other to brick up the doors of the lower storey. Possibly at the time when this happened the number of resident monks had been reduced to such a degree that only part of the rooms were required for their accommodation. They chose the more airy and salubrous upper storeys

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. I, p. 127, Plate XXXII.

[2] *Cf. Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, pp. 102 and 168.

[3] Mention of corridors in Buddhist monasteries is made by I-tsing, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

and by bricking up the doors of the lower one tried to strengthen the tottering edifice. Whether my surmise be correct or not, there can be little doubt that the excellent preservation of this part of the building is mainly due to the measure referred to.

The room adjoining the entrance room to the south has two niches in the south and north wall. They measure 2′ 2″ in width and 2′ 7″ in height and are 15″ deep. Their top is built of overlapping bricks. In the other rooms also which were excavated, except the entrance room, similar niches were found but not more than one in each room. I-tsing[1] speaks of windows or niches especially made in the rooms of the priests to contain a holy image. Besides, they were most probably used for the purpose of containing lamps according to the custom still prevalent in India. In the excavation of the building a great number of small earthenware lamps were found. One of the rooms yielded an earthenware vessel of the same kind as the one referred to above which was found in *stūpa* no. 13. It did not contain any remains of bones. The only other finds worth mentioning are a small fragment of a stone with the figure of a lion evidently belonging to the throne (*siṁhāsana*) of a statuette, and an oval-shaped slightly convex disc of brass (2·9 × 2·4 cm.), presumably a portion of some ornament. On the convex side there is in the upper half an indistinct object, perhaps a *caitya*, and in the lower half an inscription of four letters (ht. 0·7 cm.) in Gupta character of the fifth century. I read *bha-ru-la*.

It will be seen that the Monastery D has the same orientation as those monuments which we found to be anterior to the early plinth of the *Nirvāṇa* buildings, A and B, yet I feel inclined to assign it a date subsequent to this building, on account of the varying, but in general small, size of the bricks and the use of brickbats and of carved bricks obtained from the ruins of earlier buildings. At the present stage of the excavation it would be premature to attempt to fix its date more definitely.

This year's excavations have clearly shown that the Kasia remains have had a history far more extensive and intricate than was hitherto supposed. There existed buildings on the site at a very remote period, the earliest hitherto found apparently dating back to the time of the Mauryas. Later on there had been constant collapse and rebuilding; one monument being raised over the ruins of another. This is true not only of the central sanctuary, but also of those numerous minor monuments of various sizes and shapes which stand crowded around it. These facts go far to prove the great holiness attaching to this site for many centuries in the eyes of the faithful.

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] *I-tsing. A record of the Buddhist religion* (Takakusu), p. 113.



Fig. 1.

EXCAVATIONS AT SĀRNĀTH.

SĀRNĀTH is situated some 4 miles north of Benares, not far from the high road to Ghāzīpur. A more direct route, of which traces are still extant, seems formerly to have connected the city with Sārnāth. Starting from the centre of Benares near the Pa̐chgaṅgāghāṭ, where Aurangzeb's mosque now rises on the ruins of an ancient temple, this road led due north past Lāṭ Bhairo and crossed the Barnā river at Purāṇā Pul, by a bridge, some remains of which can still be seen a little distance above the viaduct of the metre gauge railway to Ghāzīpur. At the end of the eighteenth century a ruined Mughal bridge of three spans occupied this site. As the nearer abutment had been damaged by floods, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the then Resident of Benares, had the bridge dismantled and used the stone for a new bridge over the same river near the present Bank of Bengal. Some further materials for Duncan's bridge, as we shall see later on, were obtained from the ruthless spoliation of the ancient Sārnāth buildings.

Sārnāth is the site of a once famous Buddhist establishment comprising a huge "*Vihāra*," large monasteries and *stūpas*, besides innumerable small shrines, *stūpas*, and other sacred buildings and objects. All the buildings of which remains have been discovered, testify to the sanctity of the place; and, indeed, Sārnāth occupied a unique

position in the Buddhist world, for it was here that Gautama Buddha began to teach his new doctrine. Leaving Gayā and the sacred Bodhi tree, under which he had attained enlightenment, he came straight to Benares, to reveal his doctrine about suffering and its cessation. He was then 36 years of age. At Sārnāth he founded his first community and afterwards spent many a rainy season in retirement there. Nothing has, so far, been discovered at Sārnāth previous to the reign of Aśoka, the great patron of Buddhism, to whom this religion owes as much as Christianity does to Constantine.

Sārnāth was known to the Buddhists as the Mṛgadāva or Deer-park, for such it was before being presented to the founder of the religion. As it was in the Deer-park that the doctrine was first promulgated, or, as the Buddhists express it, the "wheel of the law was first turned," the seal or symbol of the ancient Sārnāth community appropriately took the form of a wheel flanked by two couchant antelopes or deer. This device seems to have been adopted in later times as a general Buddhist emblem. Cunningham discovered the wheel-and-deer symbol at Bodh-Gayā and elsewhere, and it is found on the copper plates of the Pāla kings of Magadha and Bihār, and on the later *parinirvāṇa* seals at Kasia. It is curious to note that it is still in use at the present day in the armorial device of the Dalai Lama of Thibet, whose palace at Lhasa, the famous Potala, displays it emblazoned on its wall.[1]

Sārnāth is also claimed by the Jains as one of their sacred sites. A prominent feature of the locality is a modern Jain temple of the Digambara sect, erected in A.D. 1824 (see inscription on pedestal of image), in honour of the eleventh Tīrthaṁkara, Śrī Aṁśanātha, who is said to have lived as an ascetic and to have become an arhat at Siṁhapuri, the modern Singhpur, a village to the north-west of Sārnāth. The temple contains the foot-prints and a white marble image of Aṁśanātha, identified by the rhinoceros carved on the seat as his cognizance. In a Jain mansucript, the Tīrthakalpa by Jinaprabhasūri, dated Samvat 1669 or 1612 A.D., Benares is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage, and, near it, at a locality called Dharmekṣā, is said to have been a famous Bodhisattva sanctuary. This can only refer to the locality of Sārnāth, where the great Buddhist *stūpa* is still known as Dhamek. Mr. A. Venis, who kindly verified this reference for me, renders the word *Dharmekṣā* as "the pondering of the law," a very appropriate name for the place where the wheel of the law was first turned. It is interesting to have manuscript evidence that early in the seventeenth century A.D. the locality was known by the name of *Dharmekṣā*, and one cannot but connect with this the word Dhamek, the current name for the building which I suggest may be identified with the Bodhisattva *stūpa*.

The Deer-park was one of the four chief places of pilgrimage connected with Buddha's life, the other three being Kapilavastu, the scene of his birth; Gayā, where he attained to Buddha-hood; and Kuśanagara, where he died. The Emperor Aśoka set up a great *stūpa* at Sārnāth, and a stone pillar probably to mark the spot where Buddha delivered his first discourse. Centuries later the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, who traversed the whole of Northern India between 400 and 411 A.D., found four large towers at the Deer-park and two monasteries with monks residing in them.[2] About 640 A.D., Hiuen Thsang, another Chinese pilgrim, saw hundreds of smaller

[1] Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 397.

[2] Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 95.

shrines and *stūpas*, and a great *Vihāra*, some 200 feet high, its roof crowned with what he calls a golden *amra* fruit[1] and in its midst a statue of the Lord Buddha, turning the wheel of the law. He also found some 1,500 priests studying the "Little Vehicle" and was shown the sacred vestiges and memorials of the Buddhas of by-gone ages.[2] I-tsing, who visited India shortly afterwards, mentions a corridor at the Deer-park "where the World-honoured used to walk." When leaving China for India he exclaimed:—"I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer-park[3]," from which we may conclude that Sārnāth was then still a famous place of pilgrimage. How long this state lasted is not known, but the inscriptions found there extending to the twelfth century A.D. show that the connection of Sārnāth with Buddhism was still remembered at that date.

Whatever may have caused the break-up of the Buddhist community at Sārnāth, the condition of the excavated ruins leaves little doubt that a violent catastrophe accompanied by wilful destruction and plunder overtook the place. Time and further depredations, in the course of succeeding centuries, completed the work of ruin; until, with the exception of the Dhamek tower, mentioned above, all the remains were buried under high mounds of their own accumulated débris. The very name and object of the place were forgotten, when a chance discovery at the close of the eighteenth century drew public attention to the ruins and led to their subsequent exploration. The discovery referred to was made by the workmen of Jagat Singh, the Diwān of Rāja Chet Singh of Benares. While digging for bricks and stones for the construction of Jagat Singh's house in Benares, they accidentally struck upon the treasure chamber of a great brick *stūpa* and rifled it of its contents. Most of the treasure seems to have been disposed of by the finders, but a green marble casket with a few charred bones, pearls, rubies, and gold leaves found its way into the hands of Mr. Jonathan Duncan.[4]

[1] Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, p. 222. [2] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 45 *et seq*.

[3] I-Tsing, Buddhist religion translated by Takakusu, P. XXIX.

[4] His account of the discovery is given in Vol. V of the Asiatic Researches, p. 131. As this is the first reference to Sārnāth by a European, and not easily accessible, it is quoted here in full: "I herewith beg leave to deliver to the Society a stone and a marble vessel, found the one within the other, in the month of January 1794, by the people employed by Baboo Jagat Singh in digging for stones from the subterraneous materials of some extensive and ancient buildings in the vicinity of a temple called Sarnauth, at the distance of about 4 miles to the northward of the present city of Benares. In the innermost of these cases (which were discovered after digging to a depth of 18 hauts or cubits under the surface) were found a few human bones, that were committed to the Ganges and some decayed pearls, gold leaves, and other jewels of no value, which cannot be better disposed of than by continuing in the receptacle in which they must have so long remained, and been placed upon an occasion on which there are several opinions amongst the natives of that district. The first, that the bones found along with them, may be those of the consort of some former rajah or prince, who, having devoted herself to the flames on the death of her husband, or on some other emergency, her relatives may have made (as is said not to be unprecedented) this deposit of her remains as a permanent place of lodgement, whilst others have suggested that the remains of the deceased may have probably only been thus temporarily disposed of till a proper time or opportunity should arrive of committing them to the Ganges, as is usually observed in respect of these psspa or flowers, a term by which the Hindus affect to distinguish those residuary vestiges of their friends dying natural deaths, that are not consumed by the fire, to which their corpses are generally exposed according to the tenets of their religion.

But I am myself inclined to give the preference to a conclusion differing from either of the two former, *viz*., that the bones found in these urns must belong to one of the worshippers of Buddha, a set of Indian heretics, who having no reverence for the Ganges, used to deposit their remains in the earth, instead of committing them to that river, a surmise that seems strongly corroborated by the circumstances of a statue or idol of Buddha having been found in the same place underground and on the same occasion with the discovery of the urns in question, on which was an inscription, as per the accompanying copy of the original, ascertaining that a temple had between 700 or 800 years ago been constructed here for the worship of that deity."

The inner marble casket has disappeared, but the outer stone box was left in its original position where it was rediscovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1835. He sent it to the Bengal Asiatic Society, and it is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The Buddha image referred to in the footnote was recovered in 1849 by Major Kittoe from Jagat Singh's house at Jagatgañj.[1] Only the broken base of it is left, but fortunately the inscription, which is very important, is still legible. This fragment, along with several other sculptures originally collected by Major Kittoe at the Queen's College in Benares, have now found their way to the Lucknow Provincial Museum, where they have been arranged and described by Dr. Vogel.[2]

It would seem that the first impulse to Buddhist Archæology was thus given by a happy accident. Local enthusiasts explored the ruins and carried away cart-loads of images and terra-cotta tiles, all of which found their way into private collections and were thus lost to science. An account of these early excavations is given by Sir A. Cunningham in Vol. I of the Archæological Survey Reports to which the reader should refer for fuller particulars. The first reported exploration of the ruins is by Colonel C. Mackenzie in 1815. Next came General Cunningham in 1835-36 with the excavation of a monastery (L on site plan, Plate XV) and a temple M near which he found a large store of images. These he presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

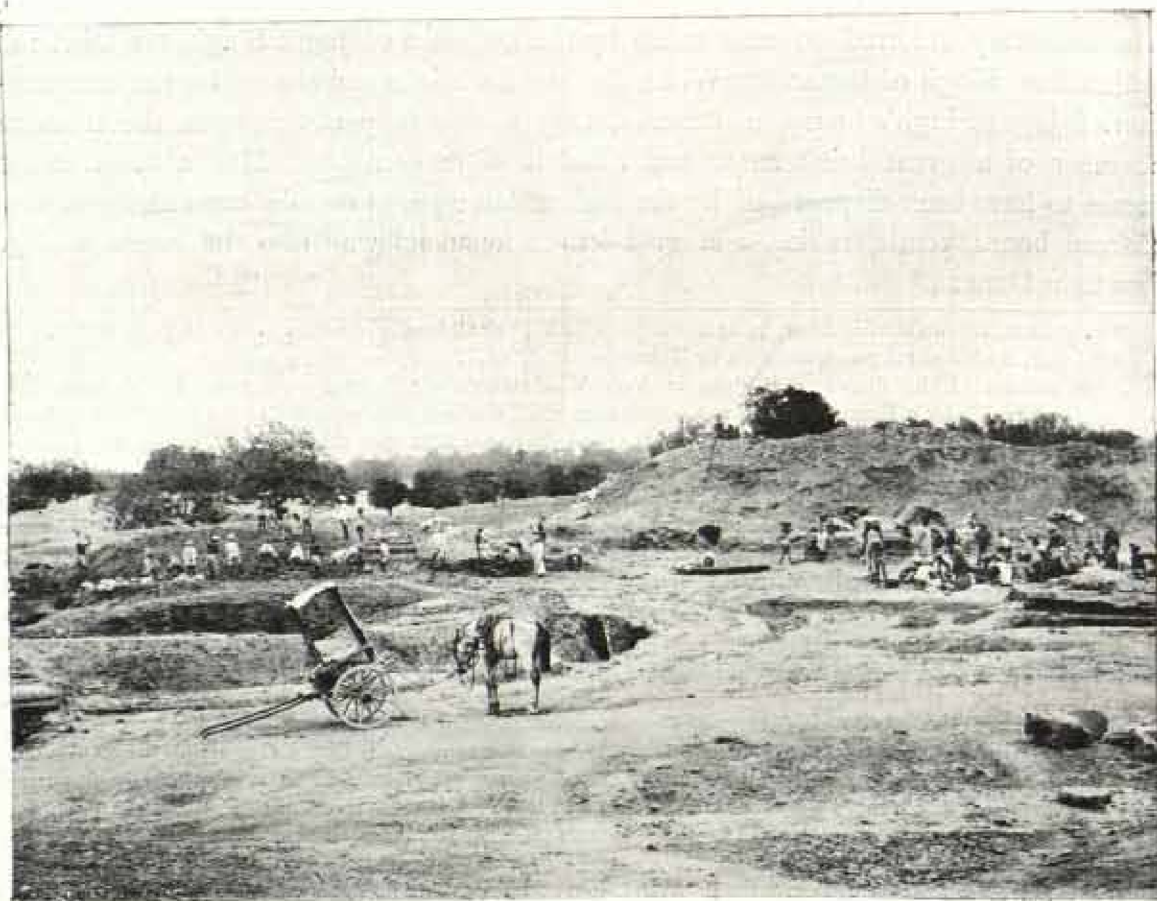


Fig. 2.

and they are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The next reported excavations were those of Major Markham Kittoe, 1848-52, who was then holding the position of

[1] Kittoe, *Volume of Drawing*, Pl. IX.

[2] *A. S. R.*, 1903-4, p. 202.

"Archæological Enquirer" to Government, and was designing and constructing the Queen's College at Benares. He exposed the foundations of numerous *stūpas* and shrines round the Dhamek tower, excavated a building N supposed to be a hospital, north of the Jain temple, and commenced clearing a large monastery O, west of the Jain temple. Unfortunately, he died before publishing an account of his discoveries. This is all the more to be regretted as he was a painstaking and a keen observer, and the mass of materials collected by him is known to have been very great. His notes and memoranda have been lost,[1] but a large volume of his drawings is still extant in the India Office Library. It contains 165 finished plates, 14" × 10", of sculptures and architectural details, of which the first 35 are marked as coming from Sārnāth.

In the construction of Queen's College (1848-52) Major Kittoe unfortunately did not scruple to use stones from the ruins at Bakariyā Kuṇḍ[2] and Sārnāth. At the latter place one may still see mouldings of Gothic design shaped by his workmen for use in the College. It is a pity that want of funds drove him to this expedient, but there is no doubt that he was careful in preserving all sculptures and carvings of the better kind. These he collected at the College together with some images recovered from Jagat Singh's house, from the Rājghāṭ Fort and other parts of Benares, or brought from Gayā and other localities in Bihār. A good many of these have since been sent to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, while a few have found a resting-place in a local museum erected for them at Sārnāth. Major Kittoe's excavations of the monastery west of the Jain temple were continued by Mr. E. Thomas,[3] C.S., and afterwards by Dr. F. Hall of Queen's College, who collected a number of sculptures and small objects, of which a list is given on p. 396 of the Asiatic Society's Researches of 1856. The remains of this collection are now placed at the Sārnāth Museum. Dr. Butler obtained permission[4] to continue Dr. Hall's excavations, but, if he did so, no account of them survives. About 1865 Mr. C. Horn, C.S., explored Sārnāth, and his finds went to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[5] There is also mention of Mr. Rivett-Carnac, C.S., digging up a Buddha image at Sārnāth in 1877, but it is not known what became of it.[6]

The above is a summary of the known excavations. Besides these, there must have been many more, unauthorized and unrecorded, undertaken by irresponsible curio-hunters, to whom the locality offered great temptations, while there was no check on their depredations. We know, for instance, of Sārnāth sculptures in the British Museum which must have come from private collections. These are now, fortunately, preserved, but for every one of them many more must have been destroyed or lost sight of. In 1856 the Government acquired the site at Sārnāth with the ruins from a Mr. Fergusson, an indigo planter, but it was not till November 1900, when the sculptures were sent back to Sārnāth, that a Chaukidar was appointed to take care of the museum and grounds.

The wealth of antiquarian objects and curios that was to be found at Sārnāth, for the mere picking up, may be gathered from some references to the subject by Cunningham and Kittoe. The former, when speaking of the Mahābodhi temple at

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 124.
[2] Proc. *A. S. B.*, 1854, p. 469.
[3] Anderson, *Museum Catalogue*, p. 26.
[4] Sherring, *Sacred City*, p. 25.
[5] Proc. *A. S. B.*, 1856, p. 396.
[6] Proc. *A. S. B.*, 1878, p. 68.

Bodh-Gayā,[1] writes:—" The same countless number of small *stūpas* was found by Kittoe and myself around the great *stūpa* of Dhamek, Benares. But there were hundreds of thousands of even smaller offerings in the shape of little clay *stūpas*, both baked and unbaked, from two or three inches in height, to the size of a walnut. Scores, and sometimes even hundreds, of these miniature *stūpas* were found inside the larger *stūpas* enclosing small clay seals. I have made similar finds at other places, and these small *stūpas* would appear to have been the common form of memorial for the poorer pilgrims."

It is sad to think that all this multitude of interesting objects should have entirely disappeared. Probably their very abundance was partially the cause of their destruction, as it did not seem necessary to preserve what was so plentiful. As instances of ruthless spoliation, Sherring mentions, " that, in the erection of one of the bridges over the river Barnā, *viz.*, Duncan's bridge, already spoken of, forty-eight statues and other sculptured stones were removed from Sārnāth and thrown into the river, to serve as a breakwater to the piers; and that, in the erection of the second bridge, the iron one, from fifty to sixty cart-loads of stones from the Sārnāth buildings were employed."[2]

Cunningham tells us:—" My excavations at Sārnāth were brought to a close suddenly by my removal to Calcutta. Luckily I had prepared plans of the buildings while the exhumation was going on, for nothing whatever now remains of all my excavations, every stone and every brick having been removed long ago."[3]

The same fate seems to have overtaken all the subsequent excavations detailed above. All portable antiquities were removed by the excavators, and the exposed ruins and carved stones were left an easy prey to those in search of building materials. The last great spoliation took place some ten years ago when the narrow gauge railway was taken past Sārnāth, and created a great demand for bricks and stones, to be broken up for railway ballast. That the great Dhamek *stūpa* escaped as well as it did, is solely due to its massive construction of huge stones, each attached to its neighbours by iron cramps. Even so, a great part of its facing was removed by Jagat Singh,[4] and the rest bears marks of violent attempts to displace the stones. We may safely assume that only regard for the memorial tower, erected on it by the Emperor Akbar, saved the Chaukhaṇḍī from destruction. But for that, its bricks would have long ago found their way to the neighbouring villages.

In writing this report at a distance from Benares, I have been obliged to make frequent references and I would acknowledge my obligation to Rai Bahadur B. B. Chakravarti, Executive Engineer, Benares, for his ready assistance at this period as well as during the course of the excavations.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has furnished me with the readings of the inscriptions discussed in the course of this paper, and is largely responsible for the note on the sculptures and inscriptions given beneath.

EXCAVATIONS IN 1905.

For the position of the buildings already more or less thoroughly explored the reader must be referred to the plan on Plate XV. These include two monasteries L

[1] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 46.
[2] Sherring, *Sacred City*, p. 25.
[3] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 124.
[4] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 119.

and O, a so-called hospital N, a temple M, and the ground round the Dhamek *stūpa* J. The *stūpa* K had, indeed, been destroyed by Jagat Singh and a trench had been dug all round its foundation by Cunningham, but the ground near it had never been systematically cleared. The surface of the mound to the north showed signs of previous disturbance, but the hard conglomerate of bricks and clay, of which it consisted, had successfully resisted deeper digging. The few crumbling bricks which could be obtained near the surface, had evidently not offered sufficient temptation, as plenty of good stone could be had, without the trouble of digging, from the pillared halls of the neighbouring monastic buildings already cleared by previous explorers.

This, then, was the locality which I selected for the scene of my operations. Plate XVI gives a detailed index plan of the excavations. The first structure excavated was the *stūpa* K, known as the Jagat Singh *stūpa*, with its concentric rings of brickwork shown in Pl. XVII. The diameter of the innermost ring, which can be traced at the bottom, measures 44′ 3″ and that of another ring 55′ 3″; but, as the whole core of the *stūpa* has gone, one cannot say for certain whether the 44′ 3″ ring is really the original innermost ring, or whether there was another smaller one inside it. On examining the surrounding wall from the inside it will be noticed that the upper part is coved or overhanging. This is due to its following the dome shape of the *stūpa*, over which it was built. One may also notice remains of layers of concrete in the brickwork, for instance on the south-west side, 5′ 3″ above the level of the foundations. This is no doubt the remains of the concrete floor or terrace surrounding some inner *stūpa* no longer existing. Sherring noticed this concrete, but was unable to suggest any explanation.[1] It is, however, easily enough accounted for, when one remembers that in process of time, as shell after shell was added to the *stūpa*, the ground rose and the floors of the later structures would thus be considerably above the original floor level. As a matter of fact I found, when digging on the outside of the *stūpa* wall, that the lowest floor was 7′ 3″ below the terrace now exposed just above the ground. It should be noted that the latter is not the last terrace, for traces of others are found above it. The accompanying sketch, figure 3, may help to elucidate the above description of the growth of a *stūpa* such as this The same process may be noticed in some of the smaller *stūpas*. What remains of the brickwork consists throughout of large bricks laid in clay mortar. Lime does not appear to have been used for mortar at that early period. We only find it in concrete and the plaster used on the outside face of the brickwork. Bricks were always embedded in clay, and stones were laid dry, sometimes held together by iron cramps as in the Dhamek tower.

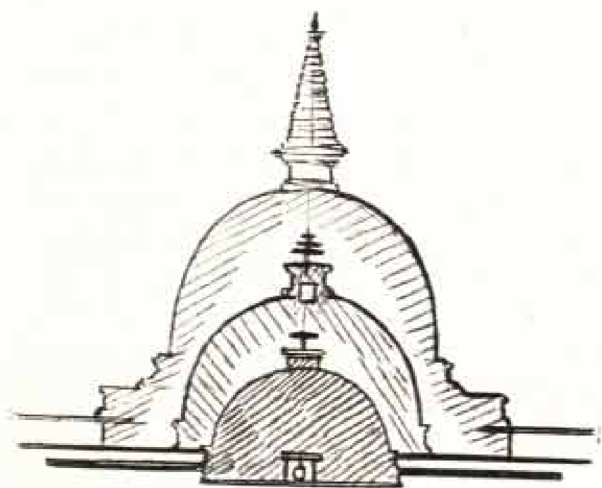


Fig. 3.

The bricks in the *stūpa* vary in different parts from 20″ × $3\frac{1}{4}$″ × $2\frac{3}{4}$″ to

[1] Sherring, *Sacred City*, p. 249.

$15'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. Great differences in size sometimes occur in the same part of the brickwork, *e.g.*, in the lower innermost ring on the west side of the pit, are bricks $20'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ alternating in different layers with bricks $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 13\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3''$. In the next outer ring I found bricks $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$. The ring beyond this had radiating bricks $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 15'' \times 3''$ of which the width of $15''$ decreased to $13\frac{3}{4}''$ radiating from the centre of the *stūpa*. In the high outer shell, the bricks varied from $18'' \times 13'' \times 3''$ to $16'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. A wall apparently erected at a much later period on the upper terrace contains bricks $9'' \times 9'' \times 2''$ and the outermost terrace wall on top is built of bricks $8'' \times 6'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$. For the sake of comparison, I may mention that the Piprāhwā *stūpa*, excavated by Mr. W. C. Peppé, yielded bricks $16'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ and $15'' \times 10'' \times 3''$.[1]

The excavations were begun by digging a trench outside the *stūpa* in the hope of laying bare the plinth above the floor. At a considerable depth down I came upon a concrete floor and was much puzzled by the outer brickwork above being all rough and irregularly laid. It was not till afterwards that I discovered another floor above and realised that I had only been looking at the foundations of the outer casing or last addition to the *stūpa*.

Not a vestige was left of any architectural feature in the base or plinth of the wall. Kittoe and Thomas had, it appears, been before me in digging round the *stūpa*[2], and in doing so had cut through the upper concrete floor, so that I missed it. The lower floor, $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet down, must have been a broad terrace surrounding the *stūpa* at an early period, on which the later additions were founded. This lower floor apparently runs all round the *stūpa* at a height of two feet above the bottom of the foundations and consists of five inches of concrete laid over nineteen inches of brickwork in six layers.

I next carried a trial trench at the level of the lower floor from the centre of the *stūpa* straight to the west, until I came out on the bank above the lake. In doing so I met with remains of ancient brick walls constructed of bricks $18'' \times 9'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and exposed several small brick *stūpas* at various levels below the present ground.

I also discovered two cross-bars of a stone rail. Some more of these and fragments of rail pillars were found afterwards near the Aśoka column and adjacent shrine, some built into later structures. Three of the pillars bear short donative inscriptions (see list of inscriptions Nos. II, III, and IV) in the Maurya character, and it may be surmised that these fragments formed part of a large railing which once surrounded the *stūpa*.

Besides the inscriptions in Maurya character, pillar *a* contains a record of a much later date, presumably of the fifth century.

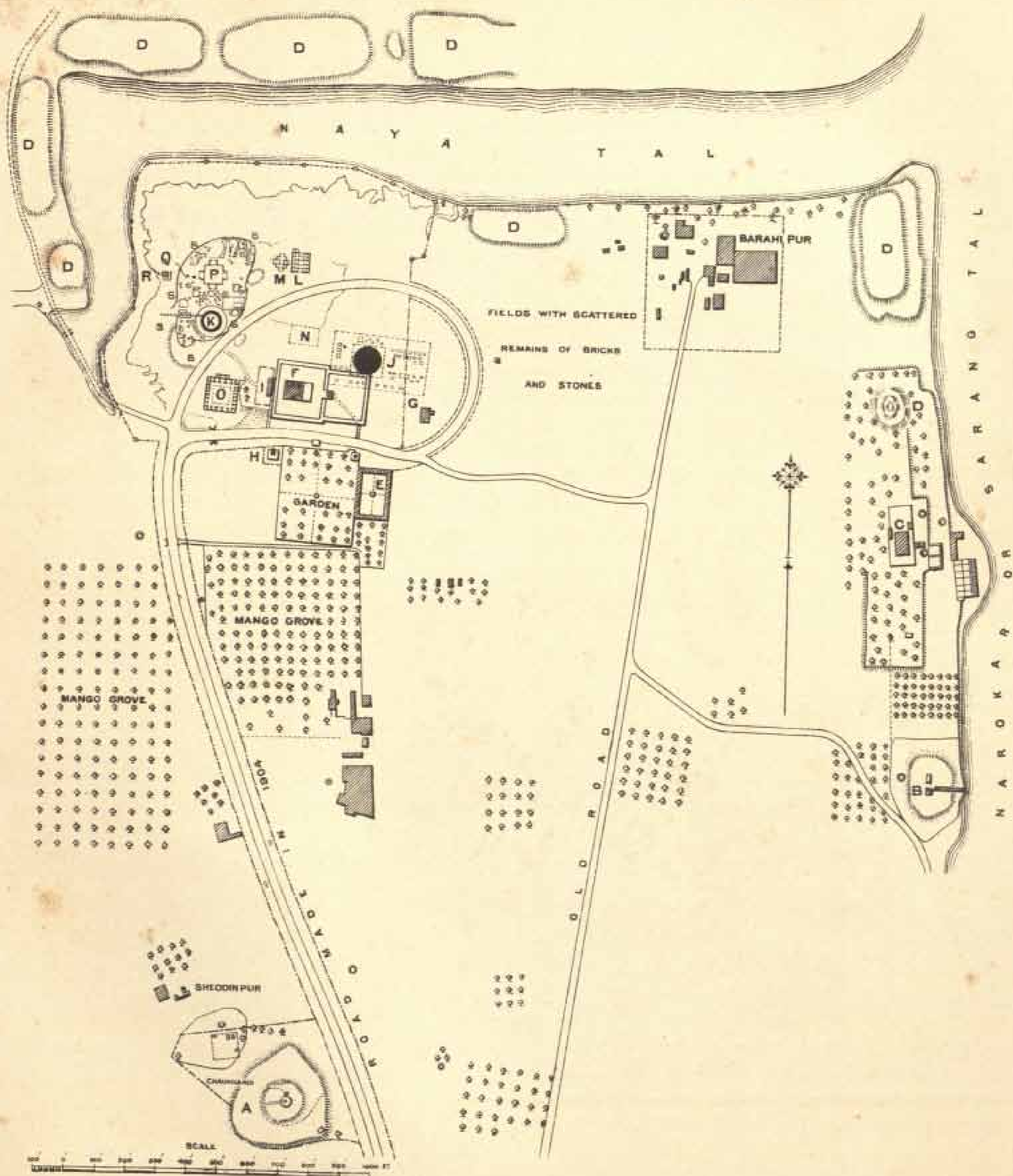
This inscription (No. XI) consists of four lines reading—

1. *Deyadharmmo-ya(ṁ) pa(r)amopā-*
2. *sika-Sulakṣmanā-[ya] mūla*
3. . . . . [*Bha*] *gavato Buddhasya*
4. *pradīpah.*

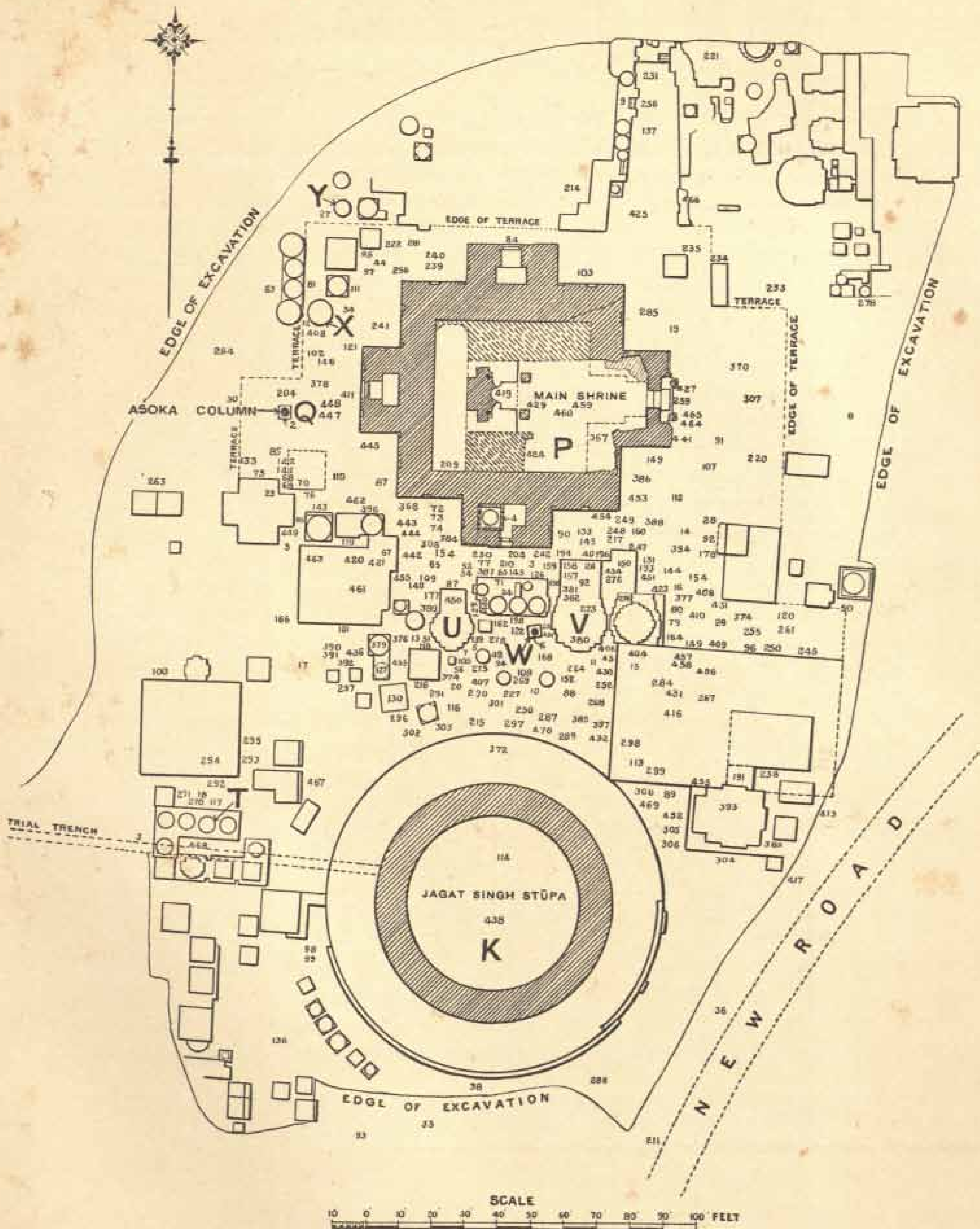
"This lamp (is) the pious gift of the female lay-member *Sulakṣmanā* at the chief [temple] of the Lord Buddha." From it we may infer that many centuries after the

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 573.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 116.



GENERAL PLAN OF SITE.



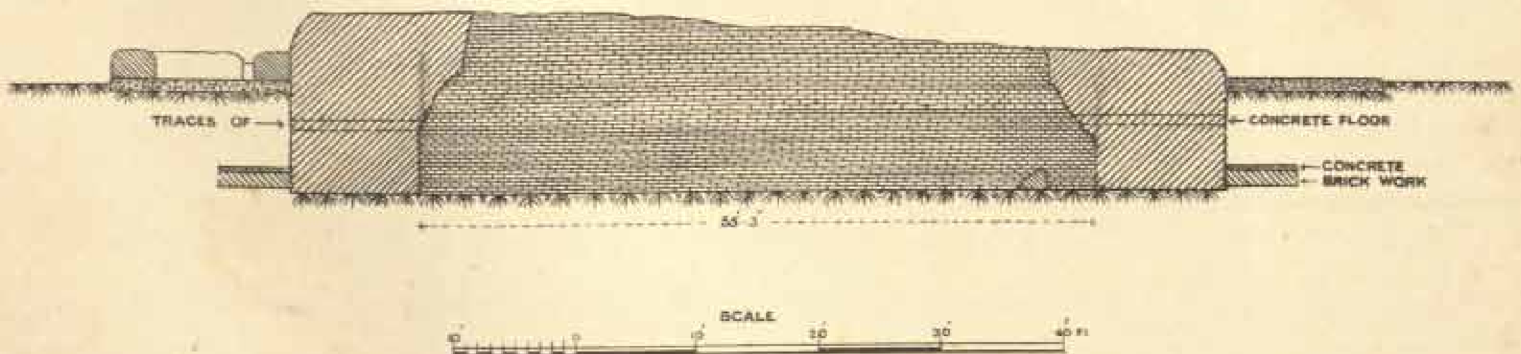
PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS.

B.

44'-3"

A.

SECTION ON A. B.



PLAN AND SECTION OF JAGAT SINGH STŪPA.

construction of the railing this pillar was set up as a lamp post. Finally it was used as a building stone; as may be gathered from two mortice holes one of which has destroyed the first half of the third line of the later record. At the bottom of the stone some letters of the same period may also be traced.

I next proceeded cutting north of the *stūpa*, and it was then that I came upon traces of the upper concrete terrace round it. I then stopped digging deeper down and determined to clear only above the level of this terrace which seemed to mark an epoch in the history of the building here, for it nearly coincided in level with the great terrace round the large shrine, east of the Aśoka column. Some remains of buildings were met with above this level but nothing of importance.

As Pl. XVI shows, I laid bare the remains of many small brick *stūpas* all round the great brick *stūpa* and recovered a few sculptures, but as the ground had been previously disturbed, there were not many portable antiquities left near the large *stūpa*. South of it may be seen a débris mound thrown up by previous explorers which I would have cleared had time permitted. The trench outside the *stūpa* and the one going west from it I had filled up again to the ground level. All the spoil earth from these and the rest of my excavations was thrown down the bank west of the *stūpa* and Aśoka column, with the exception of a small quantity, which was spread over some low ground north of the Museum.

Proceeding northward I extended my operations to the mound adjoining the large brick *stūpa*, and laid bare the shrine marked P on Plates XV and XVI. A separate plan of this temple is given on Plate XVIII, from which it may be seen that it forms a square, each side of which measures about 68 feet in length. Porticos project from the four sides making the plan a regular Greek cross. A headless Buddna image was found in a chapel, on the south side, but I do not think that this was the original image in this shrine, as it looks much too small for its position. In two other chapels on the north and west sides, only the pedestals or thrones are left, the images themselves have disappeared. The shrine is surrounded by a concrete floor at about the same level and therefore perhaps of about the same age as the floor round the brick *stūpa* described above. The ruins of the shrine rise to about 15 feet above this concrete terrace. The foundation or lower parts of the walls is faced with stones, many of which are carved stones taken from older buildings and placed irregularly in the plinth of this structure. A few of the stones bear letters, some of which at the south-west side now appear upside down, as if the stone had been placed the wrong way up by accident.

Since its original construction, the shrine has undergone considerable changes, but it is in too ruined a condition now to enable us to say what these were and what was its original plan. We can, however, tell with certainty that a large portion of the interior has been built up at a later time, possibly to help in upholding the roof.

The bricks used in the foundations and outer wall of the shrine vary from $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ to $15'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ and the bricks in the interior additions average about $14\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.

Plates XVIII and XIX give the plan, elevation, and section of the ruins. As the plan shows, the walls were enormously thick and evidently intended to carry a massive and lofty superstructure. With the exception of the plinth facing, the jambs and

architraves of the chapel entrances, and the columns at the porch and in the front of the image, all the masonry is of bricks laid in clay and plastered outside with kankar lime, which was afterwards whitewashed. There are traces of colour decoration under the whitewash and the carved door jambs were coloured a dark red-brown tint.

When clearing the south chapel, the top of a stone railing became visible above the floor, and on following it up, a small *stūpa* was disclosed with a plain stone railing forming a square fence round it. The plan and cross section of the shrine show the position of this little *stūpa* which is built up in the foundation and wall of the south chapel, and therefore of earlier date than the main structure. A short votive inscription on one of the stones places the erection of the railing in or before the first century B.C. The inscription consists of only one line 15″ long, middle destroyed, and beginning indistinct: *Aca[ryā*]naṁ sarvvāstivādinaṁ. . . . parigahetāvaṁ* "Homage of the masters of the *Sarvāstivādin* sect . . ."[1]

The façade of the south chapel and the stone door jambs are leaning outwards, which may be the result of the roof falling in this direction when it was demolished. But that structural weakness had shown itself before then, is proved by the brick walls built up within the chamber and doorway. The bricks in these additions, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, are of much later date than the main structure and prove that a considerable interval must have elapsed between the erection of the building and this last repair. In the chamber was found a headless Buddha image standing on a low pedestal quite unlike the ones in the other two chapels. The bricks used in this pedestal measure $10'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{8}''$, which would seem to indicate about the same date as the later additions to the chapel. The pedestal being of later date, we may assume the image also to have been put up later, in place of an earlier one—a surmise which is borne out by the appearance of the statue.

Aśoka Column.

A short distance to the west of the shrine were found the stump and fragments of a large round column. First the lion capital was exhumed close to the western wall of the shrine, next some fragments of the shaft, and lastly, the stump of the column *in situ*, protruding slightly above the concrete terrace. On clearing the débris from above the stump, I noticed a few letters in early characters. The concrete was broken through and a long inscription exposed to view, which later examination proved to be an Aśoka edict. The fracture of the column had taken place immediately above the concrete terrace: with it, unfortunately, the first two lines were broken up into tiny fragments and nearly all lost. To judge from appearances, the column must have been battered down and violently thrown against the shrine. Two of the lion heads of the capital, which apparently struck the building, were broken and pieces of the shaft were lying scattered around.

On continuing the excavation down to the bottom of the column, a stone pavement was laid bare some 3′ below the upper concrete terrace.

[1] As will be seen from Plate XXXII, No. IX, the inscription consists of two distinct parts in different characters. The beginning belongs to the third or fourth century A. D. The final portion, *parigahe tāvaṁ*, is older by about four centuries. It appears that the first part of the earlier inscription has been erased, and a different beginning substituted.—[S. K.]

Beneath the stone pavement several layers of concrete and kankar were cut through, until, at a depth of 5′ 8″ below the upper concrete terrace, a lower floor was reached.[1] It was found to be 15½″ thick and consisted of five layers of large bricks. The size of these bricks is 16″ × 11″ × 2¾.″ In this floor were found, embedded in their original positions, parts of six stone railing posts and two cross rails ornamented with rosettes. The fragments bear no inscription but are beautifully carved. Further down, at a depth of 17′ below the concrete terrace, the foot of the column was reached, resting on a large flat stone 8′ × 6′ × 18″. It is impossible now to say what the exact height of the column may have been as some parts of the shaft are missing. From the original floor level the shaft of the column measured about 27½′ in height and it tapered from 2′ 4″ diameter at the bottom to 1′ 10″ diameter at the top. Above the shaft came the bell-and-lion capital, 7′ in height, and finally a stone wheel, 2′ 9″ in diameter. So the total height above the original ground level was about 37′, besides which it extended 12½′ below ground. Hiuen Thsang gives the height of the column seen by him as 70′, but, as has already been noticed, his estimates of height cannot be relied upon. The shaft consisted of one piece, 38½′ long, of which the lower 7½′ underground were 3½′ in diameter and left rough, while the portion above ground was highly polished justifying Hiuen Thsang's description.

The capital (*vide* Plate XX) measures 7′ in height. It was originally one piece of stone, but is now broken across just above the bell. As the photograph shows, it is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmacakra* symbol. A few fragments of the rim found near the column and the smaller wheels below the lions enable the wheel to be restored with some certainty. It apparently had 32 spokes, while the four smaller wheels below the lions have only 24 spokes. The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, *viz.*, a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member. The lion and other animal figures are wonderfully life-like and the carving of every detail is perfect. Altogether this capital is undoubtedly the finest piece of sculpture of its kind so far discovered in India. When looking at it and comparing it with later productions of animal sculpture in India, one fully realises Fergusson's verdict that Indian art is written in decay.

From the high polish, I first took the stone for granite or gneiss, but it subsequently proved to be sandstone from the Chunar quarries, some twenty miles south of Benares. The art of polishing this stone has been lost, but there can be no doubt that the polish adds greatly to the beauty and probably to the durability of the stone. Considering the age of the column, which was erected more than 2,000 years ago, it is marvellous how well preserved it is. The carving is as clear as the day it was cut and the only damage it has suffered is from wilful destruction.

The edict is in beautifully regular and clear-cut letters, without the slightest sign of decay. The bottom of the inscription was 4′ above the brick floor referred to above, and the top 6′ 8″. The edict had originally eleven lines of an average length of 25″. Of these, the last eight lines only are complete. Besides this, the initial letters of the first two lines and a great part of the third line were recovered on separate stones, so that nearly the whole inscription can be made out. Dr. Vogel has published the

[1] This floor has now proved to be the inner of two brick walls surrounding the pillar. [Ed.]

text and translation of the edict in the Epigraphia Indica,[1] and further valuable notes on it have been contributed by Mr. A. Aenis in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society [2], to which publications the reader must be referred.

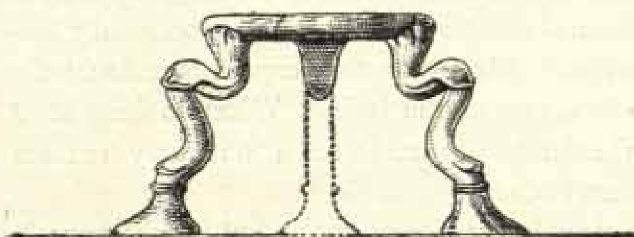
In addition to the Aśoka edict, the column bears two later epigraphs of one line each. The older of these is partially below the principal inscription and refers to the reign of a king Aśvaghoṣa. The second inscription is above this in early Gupta character. It is not nearly so well cut as the two former, and several letters are illegible.

Excavations round the column, under the south chapel and in the trial trench west of the great brick *stūpa*, have shown the existence of older remains below the level of the concrete terrace. Several pieces of a stone railing were found at this lower level, and there is no reason why more should not be found, as well as inscriptions and other antiquities.

From the nearly complete condition of the little *stūpa* below the south chapel and the appearance of other remains uncovered below the terrace level, I cannot help thinking that Sārnāth must have experienced a period of neglect or desertion before the shrine was constructed. It looks as if the higher buildings had been allowed to fall into ruin, filling with their débris the spaces between the smaller objects, and that when the site was once more occupied and new shrines were erected, they were built right over the remains of the earlier structures, the existence of some of which may not even have been suspected.

Minor Buildings and Antiquities.

Due west of the shrine and the Aśoka column, on the higher ground above the tank, were discovered the foundations of a brick building (R Plate XXV) with a concrete terrace at a level of three feet three inches above the terrace round the main shrine. The bricks measure 15″ × 9″ × 2¼″, but they are few and broken. What the object or age of this building was, cannot be determined now; but from its standing on such high ground, one is tempted to date it among the last buildings erected before the ruin of Sārnāth. It should, however, be noted that the buildings M and L, excavated by Cunningham, are on equally high ground, and it may be that the levels rose unequally on different parts of the site, the lower level indicating where the most sacred and consequently the most carefully tended building stood. The



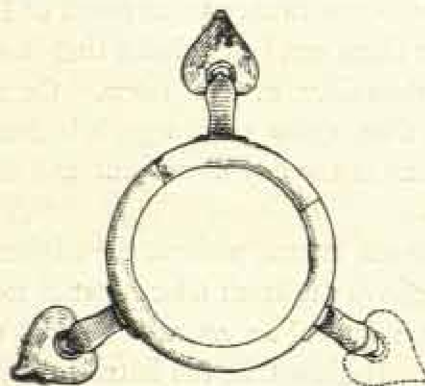


Fig. 4.

[1] E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. and ff.

[2] J. A. S. B., Vol. III, No. 1, 1907.

same phenomenon may be observed in Europe, where one now walks down to some of the old cathedrals, such as Bologna, instead of going up to them, as was no doubt originally the case.

With the exception of this one building, I confined my attention to clearing the ground round the main shrine to the level of the terrace. The index-plan (Pl. XVI) shows how closely the site around the shrine and the great brick *stūpa* was crowded with smaller *stūpas*, votive *caityas*, shrines, and other minor objects of veneration such as columns, stone umbrellas, and statues. Many of the smaller objects, which have been found in such numbers during previous excavations on the Sārnāth site, may have been manufactured on the spot, and possibly the sacred community had an interest in their sale. The clay crucibles and lumps of molten brass in particular, found in the ruins, would seem to suggest that brass images and sacred utensils were cast there. As the metal was valuable, these were no doubt removed at once when Sārnāth was plundered and destroyed. The only object of the kind found by me was a small broken brass tripod, 2½″ high, see (a) in the list of minor objects below, which was no doubt used as a stand for the sacred conch shell used for libations (Fig. 4). An exact representation of a similar tripod with a conch shell on it may be seen on one of the sculptures exhumed. This slab is interesting, as it gives a series of sacrificial vessels and utensils, depicted below a line of twenty-six seated Buddhas.





Fig. 5.

The large store of terra-cotta seals with the creed and deer-and-wheel symbol stamped on them, and the diminutive clay *stūpas*, with small seals let into the bottom, found in the ruins of the monasteries at Sārnāth are such as the pilgrims would take away as mementos to their homes or to deposit at their village shrines. At the temples of Pagān and elsewhere in Burma many such terra-cotta tablets or seals have been found which, from the designs on them, have been thought to come from India and to have been brought to Pagān by Burmese pilgrims returning from Gayā and Sārnāth. That pilgrims came from such distant places we know from inscriptions left behind them.[1] Even now-a-days one may still meet every cold season at Sārnāth and the other holy cities, Buddhist monks and laymen from Burma, Ceylon, and Thibet, from Siam and distant Japan.

Of small brick *stūpas* and shrines the remains of 129 were unearthed, there being 114 of the former and 15 of the latter. The plans and elevations of two of these, marked U and V on the index plan, are given in Plate XXII and one of the *stūpas* is illustrated in Plate XXI. This latter has a peculiar octagonal plan which, as will be seen further on, gives a clue to the plan of the upper part of the large Chaukhaṇḍī *stūpa*. A few of the smaller *stūpas* have statues, still *in situ*, placed in porch-like niches against the domes. The little *stūpa* marked Y on Pl. XXV exhibits the process of building one *stūpa* on top of another already described. All these subsidiary buildings are of brickwork, plastered over and in a ruinous condition.

Besides these, a great number of miniature votive *stūpas* of various sizes came to light. Most of these have Buddha figures on the four sides, in the traditional attitudes and sometimes marked by symbols. A large number of burnt clay "spirals" as they

[1] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 67 and 75.

may be termed, see Fig. 5, were also exhumed, varying from one to two inches in diameter. Similar "spirals" were exhumed by Cunningham at Bodh-Gayā and some specimens are now at the Indian Museum in Calcutta. I take these "spirals" to be the humblest type of votive *stūpa*. It may not be uninteresting to give here the modern form in which the custom of presenting votive ***stūpas*** at shrines is still preserved. The illustrations in Fig. 6 show three different forms of earthenware vessels which women in Benares had placed on *satī* tombs, containing the remains of devoted wives who had resolved to die on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The veneration shown to their memory takes the form of placing these little inverted earthenware



Fig. 6.

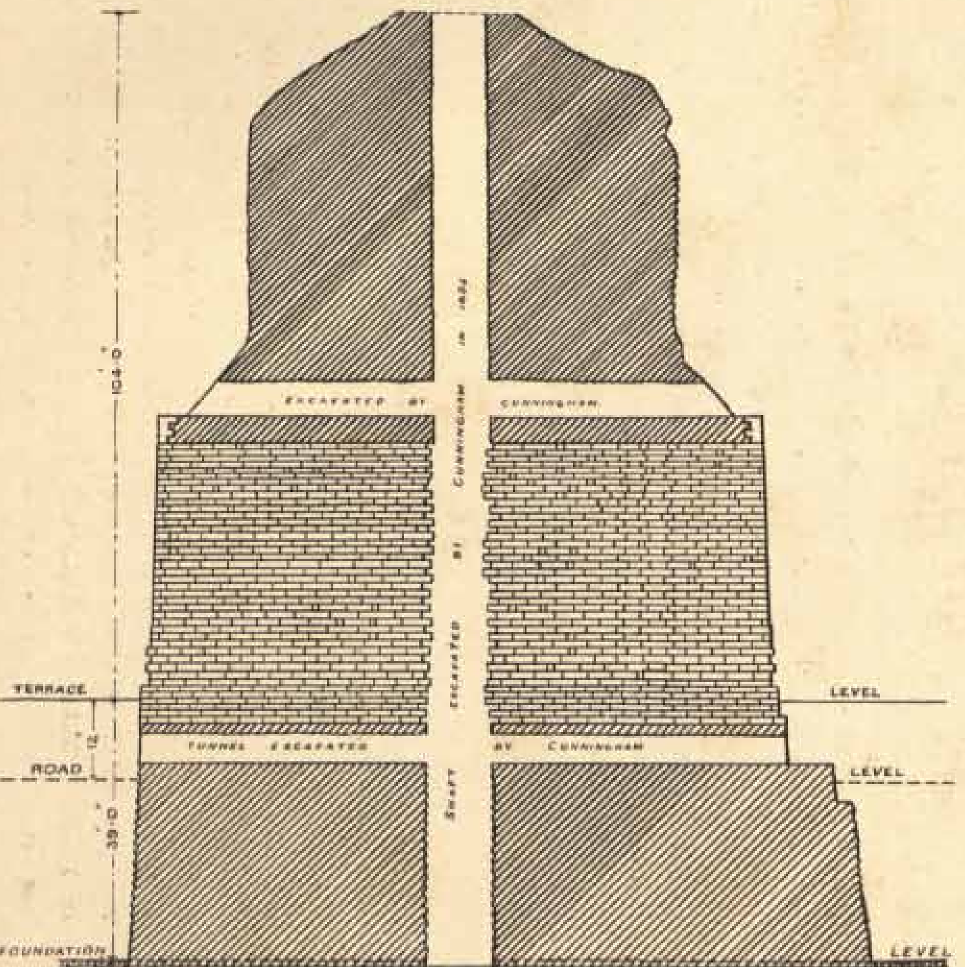
vessels at their tombs. As the photograph shows, they are not unlike ***stūpas*** in shape, especially the centre one with its dome surmounted by an umbrella, under which are seated two little figures, probably intended for the husband and wife. They strongly remind one of the inverted alms-bowl which Buddha showed the two Burmese merchants as a pattern for their *stūpas*. I have no doubt that these "***karwas***" or "***kalasas,***" as they are called, are a survival of the ancient votive *stūpa*. Like them, they are offered along with flowers and food at the shrines of the honoured dead in the hope that thereby calamities may be averted and blessings obtained for the donors or their families.

Dhamek Stūpa.

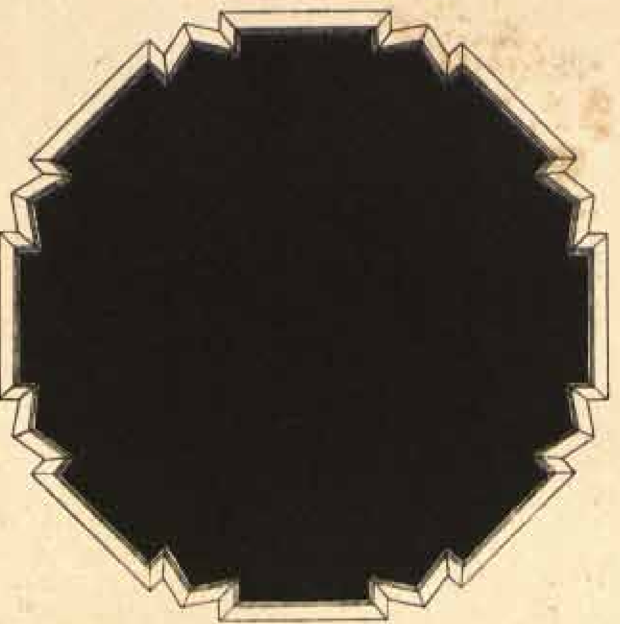
Some excavations were made by the side of the tower to examine its foundations. The result is shown in the accompanying cross section, Plate XXI. The terrace or procession path of the courtyard in front of the Jain temple abuts against the tower on the south-west side and supplies a convenient datum to which to refer the measurements of height. The terrace itself is 12′ above the roadway in front of the Jain *dharmsālā* or rest-house. The Dhamek tower measures 104′ above this terrace to the top of the present brickwork, and the foundations go down to a depth of 39′ below the terrace. Cunningham gives the height as 110′ above the surrounding ruins, but since then a path has been filled up round the tower to the level of the terrace.



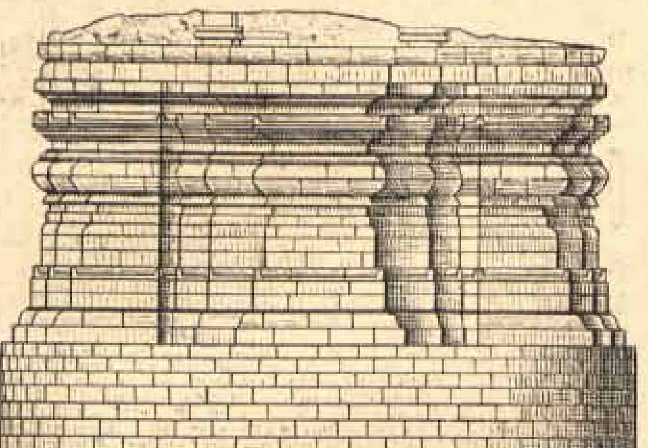
CAPITAL OF AŚOKA COLUMN.



CROSS SECTION OF DHAMEK STŪPA.



PLAN.

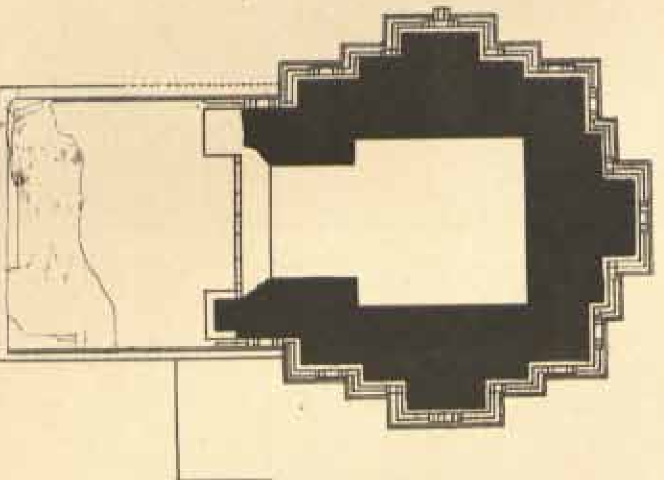


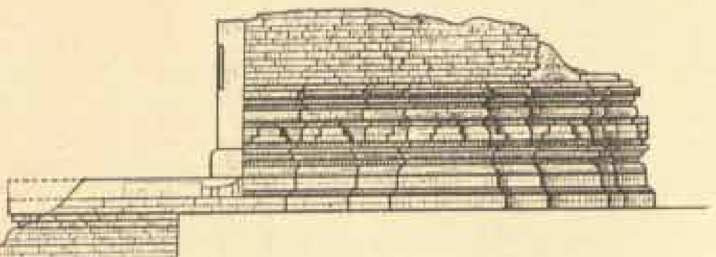
ELEVATION.



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF STŪPA X.

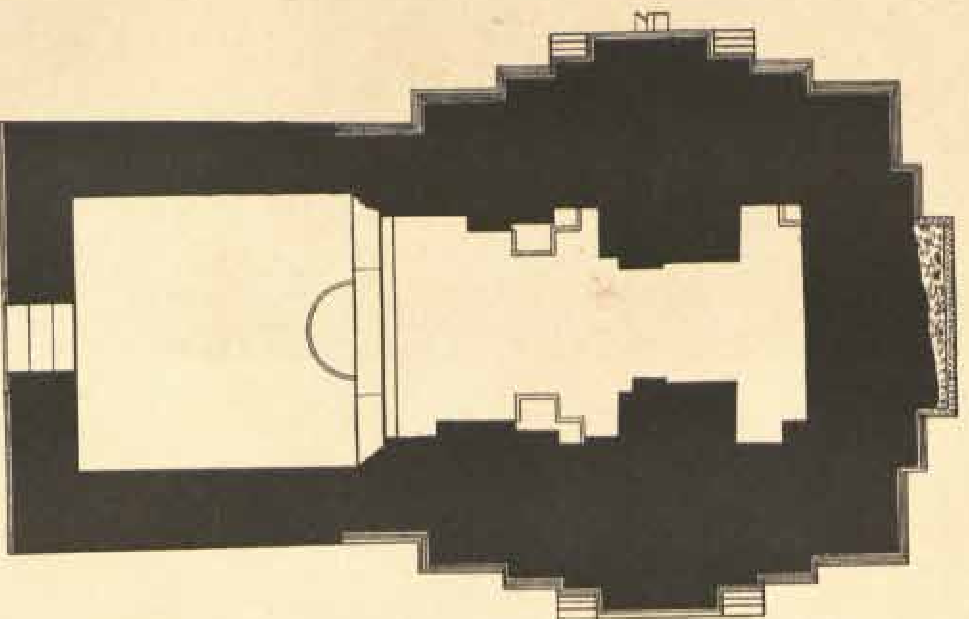
PLATE XXII.

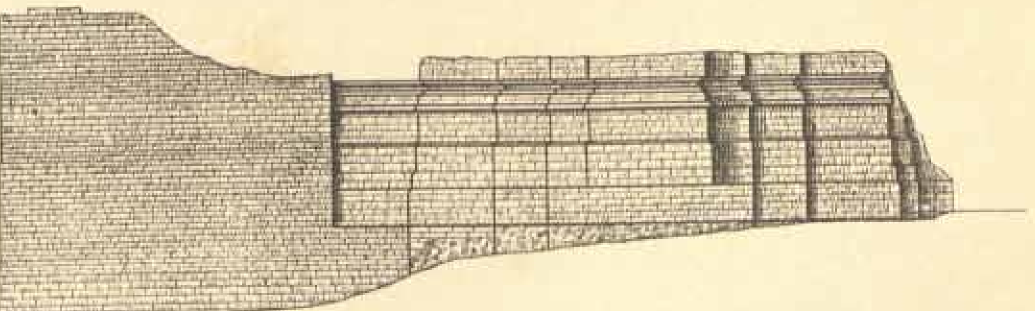






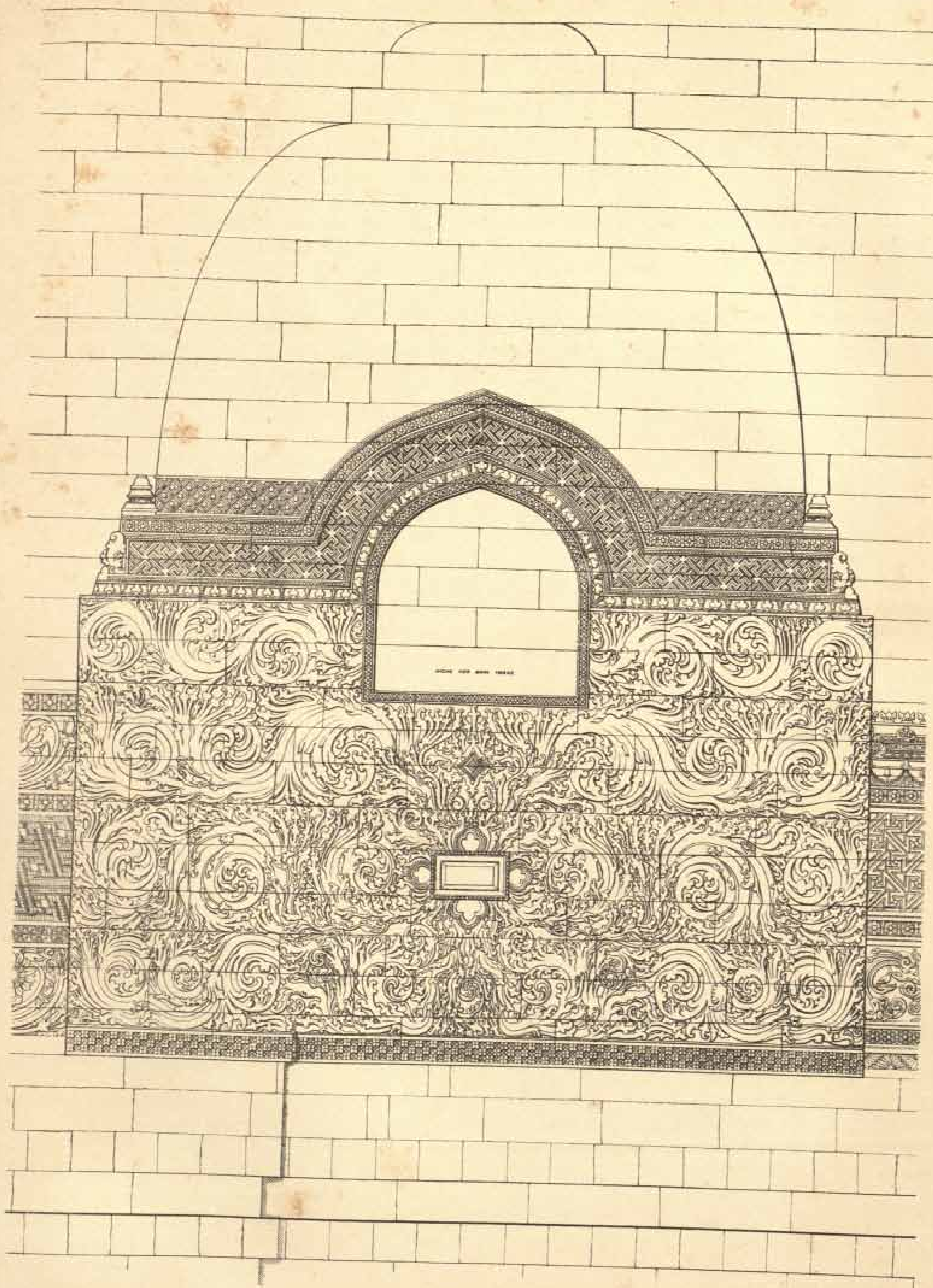
(a) PLAN AND ELEVATION OF TEMPLE U.





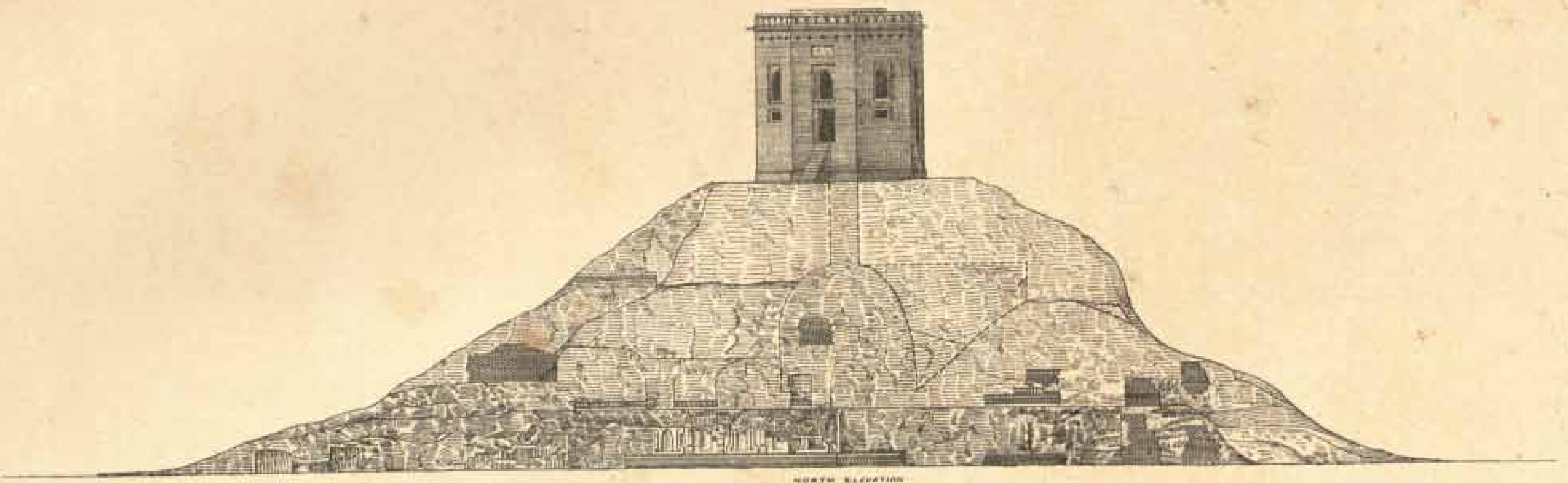


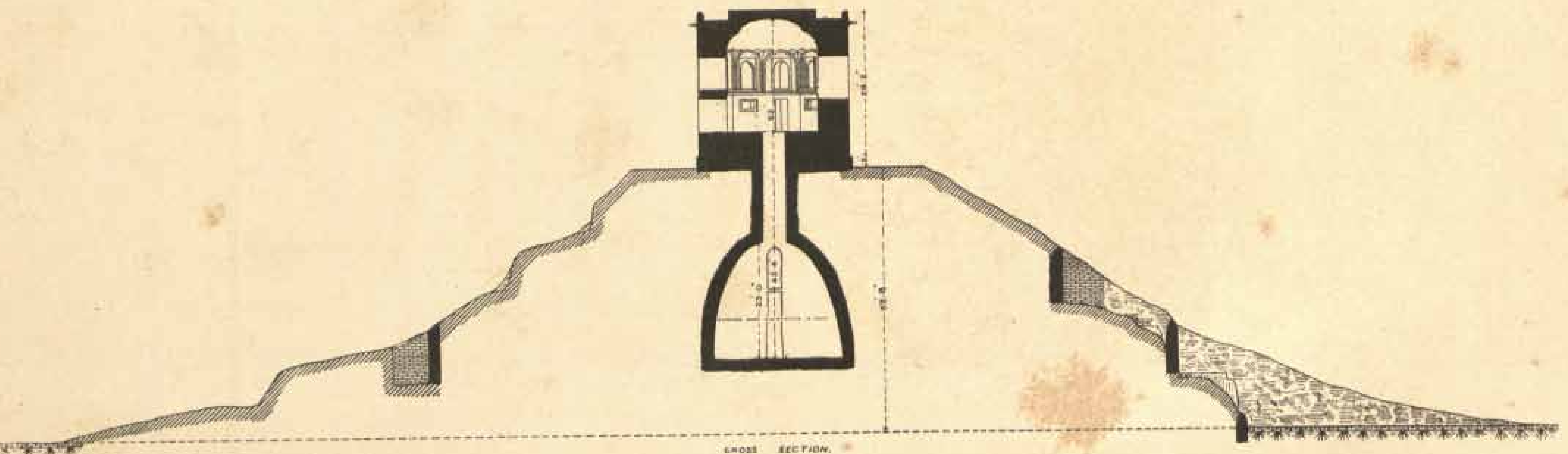
(b) PLAN AND ELEVATION OF TEMPLE V.



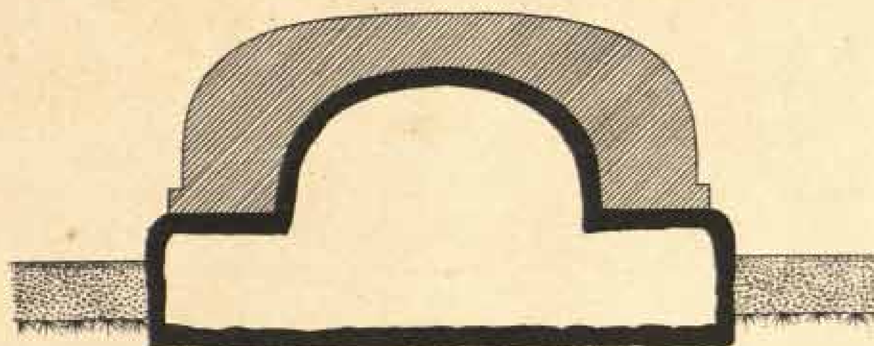
DHAMEK STŪPA: DETAIL OF WEST FACE.

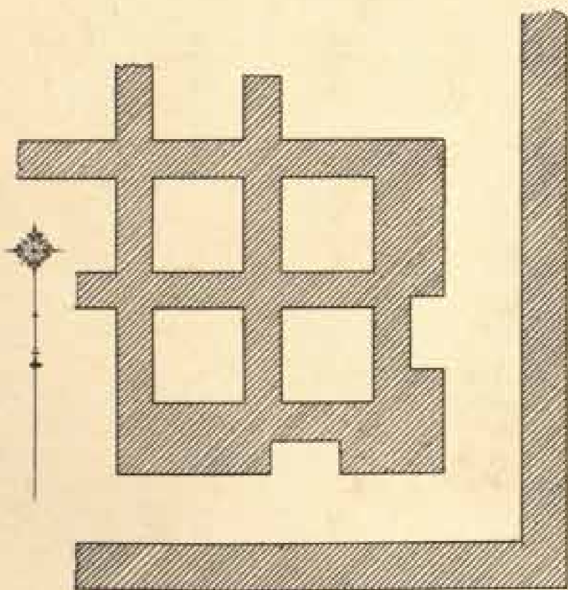
EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.

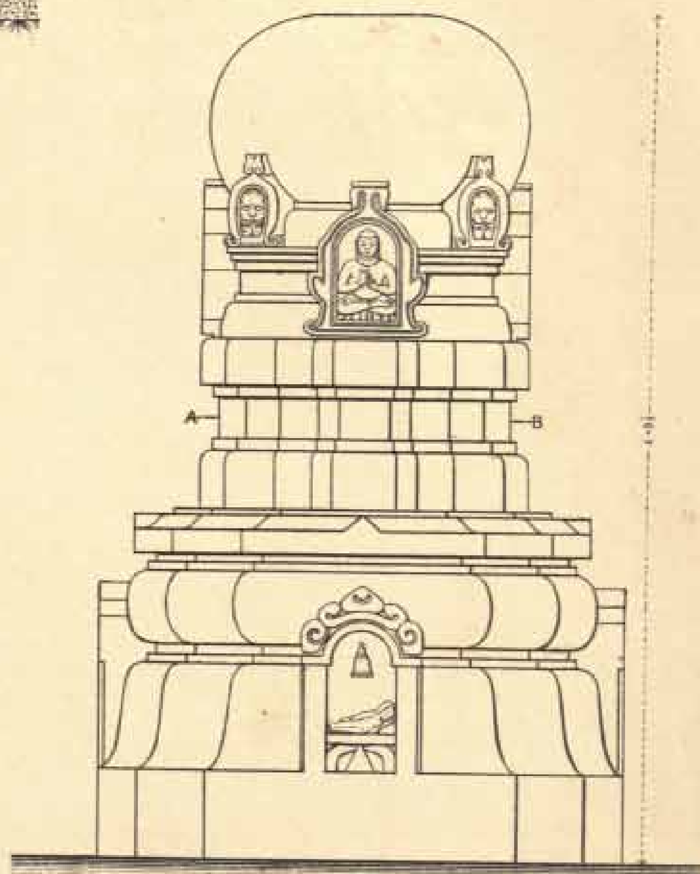


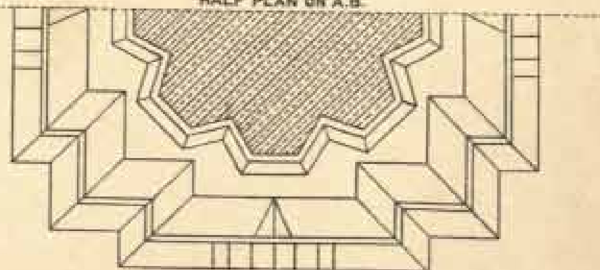


ELEVATION AND SECTION OF CHAUKHAṆḌI STŪPA.









(a) VOTIVE STŪPA WITH DOME SHAPED LIKE INVERTED ALMSBOWL.

(b) STŪPA Y, SHOWING ONE WITHIN THE OTHER.

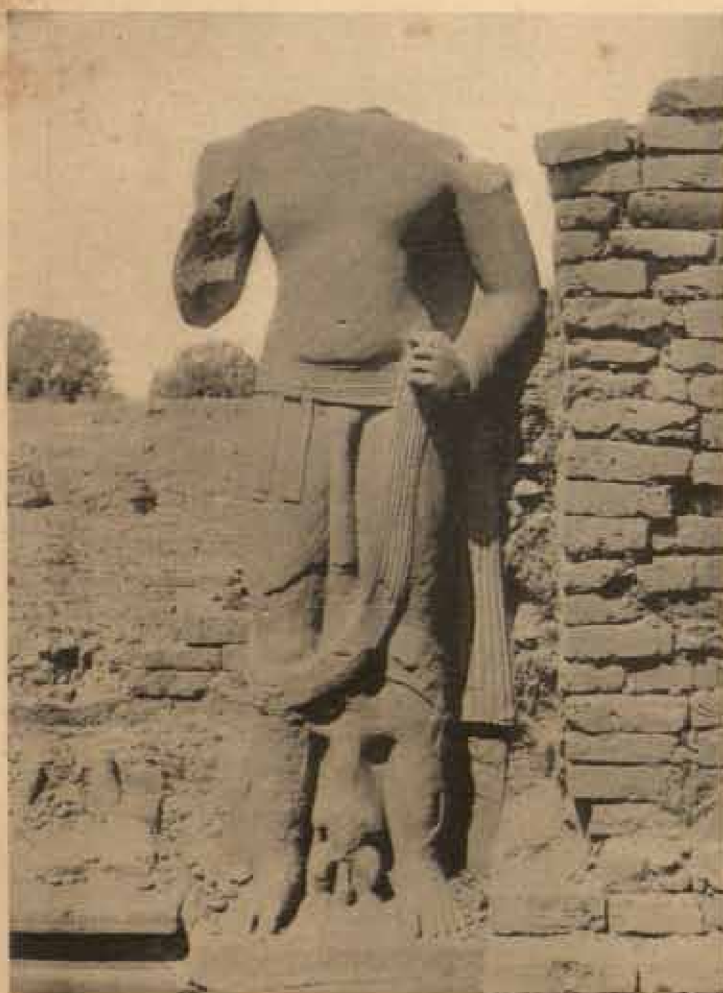
(c) PLAN OF BUILDING R.



a



b

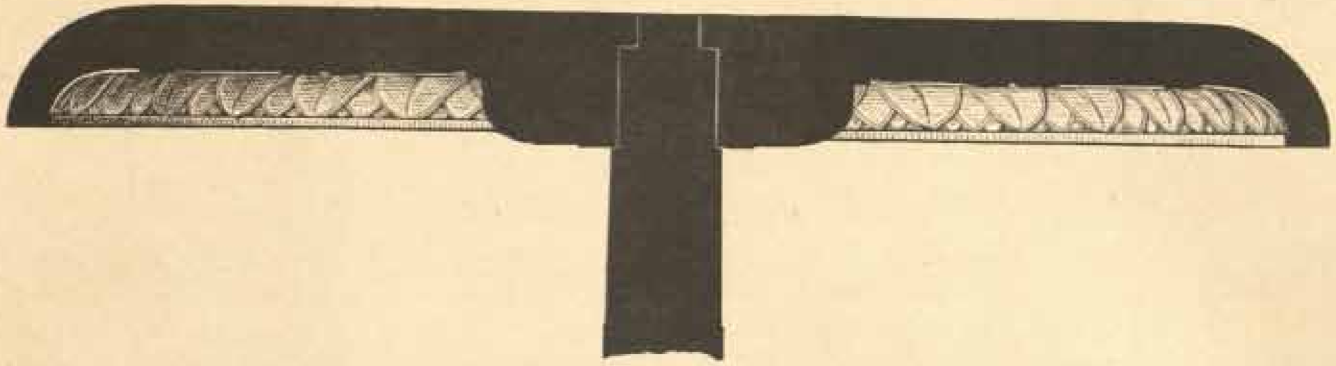


c



d

(*a*) COLOSSAL BODHISATTVA STATUE: FRONT VIEW.
(*b*) COLOSSAL BODHISATTVA STATUE: BACK VIEW.
(*c*) UNINSCRIBED BODHISATTVA STATUE.
(*d*) INSCRIBED BODHISATTVA STATUE FROM SRĀVASTI.



A. B.



LARGE STONE UMBRELLA.



a



b



c



d

(a) SEATED BUDDHA, WITH INSCRIPTION IN RAISED LETTERS. (b) STATUE OF AVALOKITEŚVARA.
(c) STATUE OF MAÑJUŚRÎ. (d) STATUE OF MAITREYA.

No trace is left of the ruins which once surrounded it[1]. On the west side, the brick foundations descend vertically below the tower as shown on the left of the section, but on the south-west side, within the Jain courtyard, they are broken in outline, as shown on the right of the section. To judge from the unfinished appearance of the carving, the building of the tower was suddenly interrupted, but of the date at which this took place there is no evidence. It is not, however, likely that the carving would have been commenced before the masonry was completed, and we may, therefore, safely assume that the structural part of the tower was at one time completed and that Jagat Singh's rapacity is mainly responsible for its present ruined condition. As the section shows, the lower part of the structure above the brick foundations is of solid stone work to a height of 36′ 9″ above the terrace. The stones in each layer are held together by means of iron cramps, and as the stones themselves are very large, the lower part of the building is practically indestructible. It must, however, have taken a very long time to erect and the expense must have been enormous. These reasons probably induced the builders to adopt a less ambitious mode of construction above, consisting of a brick core faced with stones. A few layers of this stone facing are still in position. Jagat Singh's workmen, when quarrying for stone, could apparently make but little impression on the lower part of the building, but they unfortunately succeeded only too well in destroying the stone facing above.

Cunningham, in 1835, dug into the building, sinking a vertical shaft down the centre and cutting two horizontal galleries, one above, and the other below, the stonework without coming upon any relics. In the preface to his work on the Bhilsa Topes he expresses a belief that the object of his search may have been discovered and destroyed by his workmen during his absence on duty in Mirzapur. When he wrote this, he believed that the Dhamek tower was the *stūpa* erected by Aśoka to enshrine relics of Buddha, and therefore he made sure that there must have been relics in it, although he failed to find them. It seems more likely, however, that the Dhamek tower was a memorial erected on the spot where Maitreya received an assurance from Śakyamuni that he would be the next Buddha. Hiuen Thsang mentions a *stūpa* on this spot and it is not unnatural that the last great building erected at Sārnāth should have been in honour of the coming Buddha from whom benefits might still be expected.[2]

The above conjecture is strengthened by the appearance of the building. It has eight projecting faces with niches for statuary. Seven of these faces are straight-sided above, while the eighth, towards the west, has a domed top, like a *stūpa* (see Plate XXIII). This western face also differs from the others in so far as the bands of carving, which run all round the rest of the building, are brought to a sudden termination against it, and the face itself is more lavishly ornamented than the others. These facts suggest that this western niche was the one in which the main image was to have been placed. Now, if the building had been erected in honour of Gautama Buddha, his statue would naturally have faced the rising sun, while it seems that

[1] Apparently—and this has not been noticed before—the tower stands on the remains of some older building or buildings, for the foundations are irregular in outline and do not seem to be constructed for the present tower.

[2] Evidence, which has come to light since Mr. Oertel wrote this, proves conclusively that the Dhamek Tower belongs to the Gupta age, and not, as Fergusson supposed, to the eleventh century A. D. [J. H. M.]

Maitreya, in the shrines especially erected for him, is generally made to face the west[1].

The Dhamek tower, as we now see it, is not the identical *stūpa* seen by Hiuen Thsang, but must be a later building erected on the same spot[2]. This is confirmed by an examination of the foundations which disclosed below ground the remains of older structures. It should be recorded that the bricks from the top of the tower measure $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{3}''$. Before leaving the Dhamek tower, attention deserves to be drawn to Plate XXI giving the cross section of this *stūpa*. In this section have been entered the shaft and tunnels dug by General Cunningham, as taken from a drawing kept on record in the Executive Engineer's office at Benares. The openings themselves have long ago been bricked up to prevent water from penetrating into the masonry. Before this was done, the people of the neighbourhood made quite a handsome income from visitors taken into the building. I remember creeping on all fours through the lower tunnel with a man holding a candle in front, until we got to the centre, where I could stand up to examine the solid stone work around me, and was able to realise how it could have taken Cunningham a full year to cut through it.

Chaukhaṇḍī Stupa.

Exactly half a mile south of the Dhamek tower is a brick mound known as the Chaukhaṇḍī or "square" mound (Plate XXIV). On top of this is an octagonal brick tower erected as a memorial to the Emperor Humāyūn by his son Akbar in the year 1588 A.D. An inscription in raised Arabic characters on a stone slab above the doorway gives the following account of the erection of the tower :—

الله اکبر

چو اینجا شاه جنت آشیانی	همایون پادشاه هفت کشور
بروزے آمد و برتخت بنشست	وزان شد مطلع خورشید انور
کذیدون بنده را آمد بخاطر	غلام خانه زاد شاه اکبر
که سازد جاے نو برسر آن	معلا گنبدے چون چرخ اخضر
نود شش سال و نهصد بود تاریخ	که آمد در بنا این خوب منظر

GOD IS GREAT.

"As Humāyūn, king of the Seven Climes, now residing in paradise, deigned to come and sit here one day, thereby increasing the splendour of the sun, so Akbar, his son and humble servant, resolved to build on this spot a lofty tower reaching to the blue sky. It was in the year 996 A.H. that this beautiful building was erected." It is interesting to find that the ruins of Sārnāth even in those early days were

[1] In support of this I may mention that Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrāji opened a *stūpa* near Sopāra, thirty-seven miles north of Bombay, the treasure chamber of which contained a casket with a small fragment of Buddha's begging bowl, surrounded by a circle of eight seated copper images. The chief of these was that of Maitreya, facing west. To the left, facing south-west, was Gautama, the last or seventh Buddha, and, continuing in this direction, followed the remaining six previous Buddhas, Kāśyapa, and so forth. The seven Buddhas were in the ordinary Buddha dress with their legs crossed in the conventional attitude and their hands disposed in appropriate *mudrās*; Maitreya alone was represented in royal attire, seated in an easy attitude with one leg down, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and his right extended in the gift-bestowing gesture or *varadamudrā*. This *stūpa* at Sopāra must have been erected in honour of Maitreya, the coming Buddha. These discoveries of Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrāji give us a clue as to the images intended for the seven other niches.

[2] But see my note above, p. 73. The foundations below the Tower probably go back to the Mauryan epoch. [J. H. M.]

considered of sufficient interest to induce Humāyūn and Akbar to see them, and to leave records of their visits. If it had not been for the tower raised on top of the Chaukhaṇḍī ruins, these would probably have been long ago demolished for the sake of their bricks. So we owe their preservation to the great Emperor Akbar.

From the top of the tower, one has an extensive and pleasing view of the country around with its rich cultivation interspersed with fine groves of mangoes. To the north, rises the Dhamek tower in the midst of the ruins of the old Deer-park, which is seen to be surrounded by water on three sides, the Naya Tāl to the north and west, and the Narokhar or Sārang Tāl to the east (see Pl. XV). That these are artificial sheets of water, may be seen from the mounds of earth along their banks which were thrown up during their excavation. Lest these mounds should be mistaken for ruins, I have carefully marked them on the site plan with the letter D. Looking to the south-west, some distance away beyond the Ghāzīpur road, is another mound with a small Mahābīr temple on top of it, sacred to the monkey god Hanumān. This is popularly known as the "Jhawa Jhāṛan" or basket sweepings. The local tradition is that this mound was raised when the Nayī and Narokhar tanks were being dug at Sārnāth by the workmen on their way home to Benares, tapping their baskets here to clean them of earth.

To the south of the Chaukhaṇḍī, above the line of distant trees, may be seen some of the higher buildings of the city of Benares, and above them all the slender minarets of Aurangzeb's great mosque on the nearer bank of the Ganges. It is interesting to observe how the two minarets appear as one, the front one hiding the next. This proves that the Chaukhaṇḍī is situated, as near as can be, due north of the mosque, which has already been identified in situation with the centre of Benares, past and present.

The Chaukhaṇḍī mound is the remains of a large ruined *stūpa*, and it was intended, if possible, to lay bare the lower parts of the structure in order to gain some idea of its size and appearance. For this purpose I began clearing the lower slopes on the north side in order to discover where the building began. In doing so, I came upon the concrete floor originally surrounding the building, and exhumed the remains of three square terraces, each about 12 feet high and 12 feet broad, on which the *stūpa* appears to have been erected. Above the highest terrace on the north-west side, a portion of the outline of the plinth of the *stūpa* could be traced, from which it may be gathered that it was octagonal, with starlike points at the angles, similar to the plan of the small *stūpa* given in Plate XXI. Unfortunately, the excavations on the other three sides of the *stūpa* could not be completed, and, as the salient angles of the lower terrace have gone, their measurement cannot be given. It will be noticed that each terrace is supported by an outer and an inner wall with a number of cross walls to strengthen them. The little compartments thus formed are liable to be mistaken for cells. Major Kittoe apparently came upon some of these walls midway up the eastern side, and Cunningham concluded "that they must in some way have been connected with the support of the upper portion of the building which no longer exists."[1] That this was not the case is shown by the portions of the terraces supported by the walls recently exhumed.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 118.

Hiuen Thsang tells us of a *stūpa* that was erected on the spot where Buddha, when coming from Gayā to Sārnāth, first met the five recluses, Kauṇḍinya and the rest, and where they plotted to slight him. The description of this *stūpa* is best

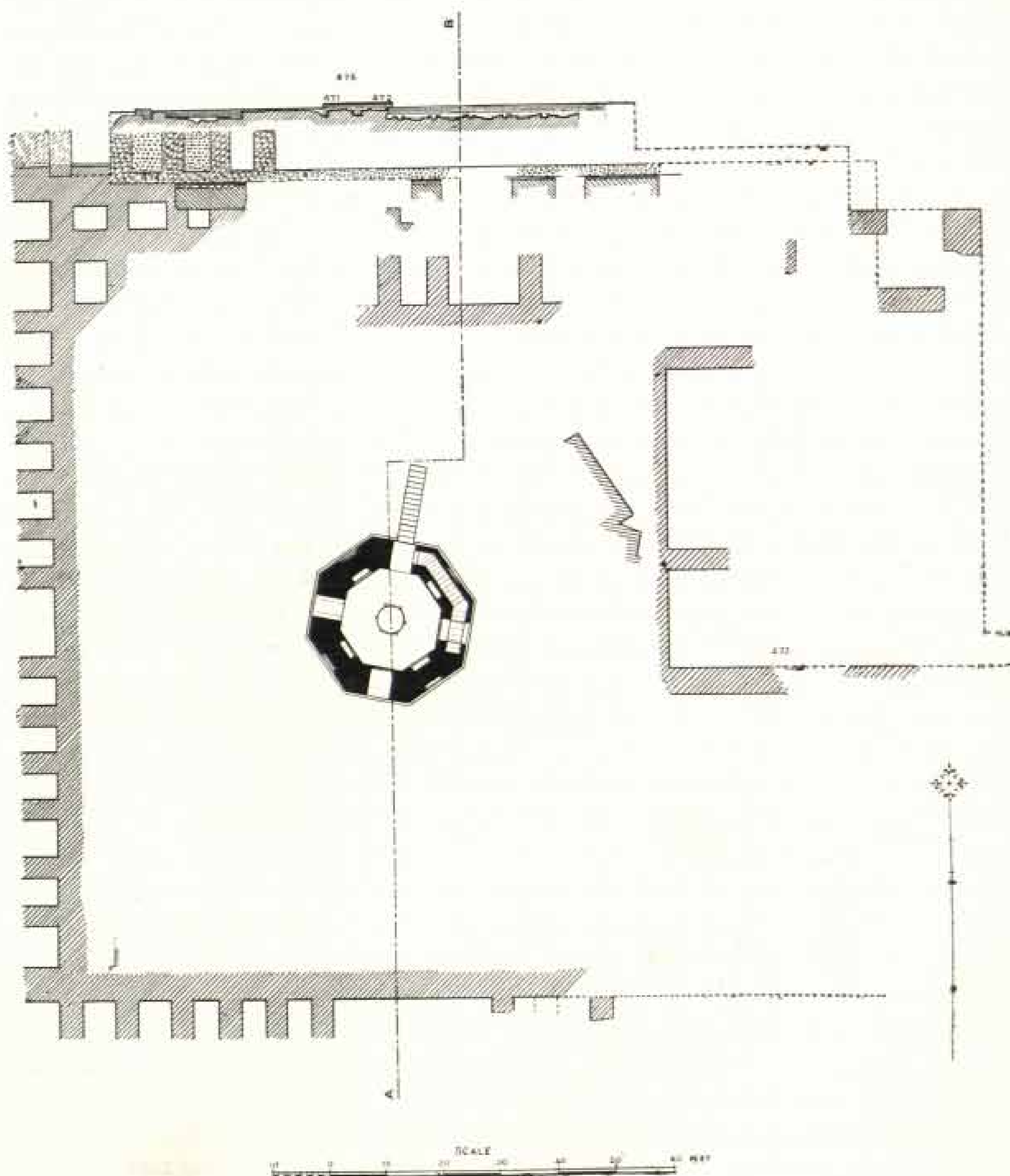


Fig. 7.

given in the words of Julien's translation.[1] "À deux ou trois li" we read, "au sud-ouest du couvent, il y a un Stoûpa, haut d'environ trois cents pieds. C'est un monument large et élevé où brillent les matières les plus rares et les plus précieuses. Comme il n'a point de niches disposées par étages, on a placé (à son sommet) une sorte

[1] Julien, *Memoires*, Vol. I, 363.

de vase de religieux, renversé. Quoique ce Stoûpa soit surmonté d'une flèche, il n'est point couronné d'une coupole en forme de cloche." This is the *stūpa* which there seems good reason for identifying with the Chaukhaṇḍī, though this latter structure contains niches in the terrace walls.

Beal has missed one point in the description, *viz.*, that the dome was like an inverted alms-bowl. This, however, is just what makes the description interesting as the same point occurs in the directions for the construction of a *stūpa* said to have been given by Buddha himself.[1]

As proved by the excavations, there were three square terraces, one above the other, corresponding to the three garments folded like square napkins. Then came an octagonal plinth. According to Hiuen Thsang, this was topped by a round dome in the shape of an inverted alms-bowl, above which came a slender spire resembling Buddha's staff. It may be noted that the transition from the square form below, through the octagon, to the round above is common in Indian architecture and especially in columns. An example of the inverted alms-bowl shape of dome is found in one of the small votive *stūpas* illustrated in Plate XXV, Fig. b. Apparently the Sopāra *stūpa*, mentioned above as explored by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, had a similar form of dome. This was to be expected, considering that it contained a fragment of Buddha's begging-bowl. The height of 300 feet given by Hiuen Thsang is probably exaggeration, but, to judge from the spread of the base, it may well have been close upon 200 feet high. General Cunningham dug into the *stūpa* in 1835, and found it to consist of solid brickwork laid in clay mortar. He sunk a vertical shaft down the centre of the tower to the bottom of the foundations. Failing to discover any relic chamber, he widened out the shaft to a certain depth (see cross section, Plate XXIV) as he had doubts of the tower being erected over the exact centre of the *stūpa*, but was not able to complete his search before he was transferred to Calcutta. I am inclined to share his doubts in regard to the position of the tower. When the outside excavations have been completed it will be easy to settle the exact centre of the *stūpa*, and if it is found to differ from that of the tower, it may be worth while to sink another shaft in search of the treasure chamber, for it is not unlikely that there were relics enshrined in this *stūpa*.[2]

My digging yielded several interesting sculptures, some of which will be described in the next chapter and there is every reason to hope that other sculptures as well as inscriptions will be found when the excavations are continued. The best time for doing so is immediately after the rains, when the soil is soft. The mixed brick and clay débris is extremely hard to remove in the dry season, as I found from experience.

[1] On his way to Sārnāth the first people whom Buddha met after leaving Gayā were two merchants who shared their provisions with him. In return he taught them the new doctrine and gave them some of his sacred hair and nail-parings as objects of worship. "Taking these, the merchants were about to return to their own country, when they asked of Buddha the right way of venerating these relics. The Tathāgata forthwith spreading out his Saṅghāṭi on the ground as a square napkin, next laid down his Uttarāsaṅga and then his Saṅkakṣikā; again over these he placed as a cover his alms-bowl, on which he erected his mendicant's staff. Thus he placed them in order, making thereby the figure of a *stūpa*. The two men taking the order, each went to his own town, and then, according to the model which the holy one had prescribed, they prepared to build a monument and thus was the very first *stūpa* of the Buddhist religion erected." It may be mentioned, in passing, that the Shwedagon Pagoda of Rangoon claims the honour of being this very *stūpa*, enshrining the hair and nail-relics, and the legend of the two Burmese merchants is preserved in an ancient inscription on the great bell at Rangoon.—Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. 47.

[2] It seems to me very unlikely, if it is the memorial *stūpa*, alluded to by Hiuen Thsang. [J. H. M.]

The terrace walls are disposed in a series of niches separated by pilasters. One of the niches only had a broken image in it. Some bricks obtained from the heart of the *stūpa* measured 15″ × 10″ × 2¾″ and 14¾″ × 10″ × 2¾″ and in the lower terrace wall on the north side 14½″ × 9″ × 2½″. To the north of the Chaukhaṇḍī, near the well, there seem to have been some very old buildings of which only a few traces of foundations are left. A villager informed me that the rest of the bricks had been removed for railway ballast. A few bricks which were still in position measured 15″ × 10″ × 2¾″ and 16¼″ × 10½″ × 2½″.

The name of Chaukhaṇḍī or the "square" mound must have been given at a time when the outline of the square terraces was still visible. Another popular name of the *stūpa* is Lauṛi-kī-kūdan or the "Leap of Lauṛi." This name is accounted for by a legend which tells how the great hero Lauṛi of the *Ahīr* or cowherd clan, at the request of his sweetheart, jumped from the Chaukhaṇḍī to the Dhamek tower. It is not a little curious to find that a Buddhist site at Kapilavastu in the Nepal Tarai bears a very similar name, *viz.*, Lauhaṛi Kūdan. It would not, however, be safe to base any conclusion on this fact.

Sculptures and Inscriptions.[1]

The Sārnāth excavations have yielded no less than 476 pieces of sculpture and 41 inscriptions, a list of which is appended at page 108. Except the Bodhisattva and umbrella to be presently noted, they are all carved in the light coloured sandstone obtained from the Chunar quarries in the outlying spurs of the Vindhya range. Their find-places are marked on the index-plan by numbers agreeing with those on the list of sculptures in Appendix A. As regards the index-plan, it must be borne in mind that in many cases only approximate positions could be given, as some of the sculptures were found before the sites of the buildings were known and recorded on the plan. A list of the minor finds is given on page 101. The sculptures comprise images and bas-reliefs representing the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and other deities, votive *stūpas* and carved building stones.

In the present state of our knowledge it would be vain to attempt a chronological classification of these images. Inscriptions alone can fix their approximate dates, but only a small minority of them are inscribed. Moreover, there has yet been little opportunity to make a thorough examination of the sculptures, and in writing about them at a distance from Sārnāth, I am obliged to confine myself to those of which I possess photographs, though there are others which are also deserving of notice.

One of the most interesting finds, well deserving of separate notice, is a large Bodhisattva statue bearing an inscription dated in the third year of king Kaniṣka. (Plate XXVI, a.) This is the oldest inscribed image found at Sārnāth. It was discovered lying in the open about midway between the Main Shrine and Jagat Singh *stūpa* (see No. 5 in the list of sculptures and on Pl. XVI). Not far from it were found the pieces of the large beautifully carved stone umbrella illustrated in Plate XXVII and the stump of an octagonal column with an inscription in the same characters as the image. All these objects are in a deep red sandstone differing from the stone used for all the other sculptures, obtained from the hills at Chunar south of Benares. Some Agra masons, whom I consulted, declared that the stone of this statue and

[1] The note on sculptures and inscriptions is largely due to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

umbrella must have come from the Paharpur quarries in the Bharatpur State, between thirty and forty miles from Agra and Muttra.

The inscription shows the image to have been erected in the third year of Kaniṣka the Kuṣaṇa. It is in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The total height including pedestal is 9½ feet. The figure wears a lower garment tied with a band to the waist, while the shawl or cloak worn over it is thrown lightly over the shoulder, and the end is held up by the left arm. The right shoulder and arm are bare and, to judge from the broken fragments of the right arm, the right hand must have been raised in the *abhayamudrā*. Between the feet, facing the spectator, is standing an animal apparently intended for a lion. This may have been placed there to help in identifying the statue, in the same manner as each Jain *tīrthaṁkara* has his own peculiar cognizance or badge. It may be remarked that this device is not unknown in Christian art. As an instance may be mentioned St. Mark and the lion. In later Buddhist sculpture it fell into disuse, but it is still practised in Hindu art, where each deity is accompanied by his or her own peculiar *vāhana* or vehicle. Gautama Buddha was often spoken of as Śākya-Siṁha, the lion of the Śākyas, so the attendant lion figure would seem to identify the statue with Buddha; and it undoubtedly has the appearance of a Buddha statue. Curiously enough, the inscriptions refer to it as a Bodhisattva,[1] a title borne by all destined Buddhas before they have attained to Buddha-hood. In Græco-Buddhist and mediæval art Bodhisattvas are generally represented in royal dress and wearing rich ornaments.

It will be noticed that the prominence on the top of the skull, Skr. *uṣṇīṣa*, is missing in this statue. A cavity is cut in its place, as if something had rested on the head. Instead of the usual close curls of the conventional Buddha head, the skull is left smooth, in the same way as the shaven heads of monks or *bhikṣus* are represented when they appear in sculpture. Apparently at this early age the Buddha head had not yet assumed the conventional form which we find fully developed in the Gupta period. The mark on the forehead, Skr. *ūrṇā*, generally found on later Buddha images, is absent in this case. The halo, of which a portion can be seen at the back, is plain and has none of the elaborate carving of the Gupta type, of which several fine specimens have been exhumed. The statue was evidently painted, for traces of light yellow colour on the body and red brown on the garment are still visible. Decorative colouring of this kind is used in Burma and Ceylon, where the statues are either gilt entirely or only partially with the body and face left white, or are painted white with the dress picked out in yellow and the hair in black.

With the Bodhisattva statue may be compared the one illustrated in Fig. c of Plate XXVI, which was also found at Sārnāth *in situ* facing east, north of the Main Shrine (see No. 9 on the index-plan). This second statue is not inscribed or dated, but bears so striking a resemblance to the first that it may be safely assigned to the same period, *viz.*, that of the Kuṣaṇas. (See the illustrations on Plate XXVI.) The chief difference is in the attendant animal figure, which in this case does not appear to be a lion, but the stone is too worn for identification. Like the first statue, this one is carved in the round, and stood originally under a stone umbrella, the post of which is still remaining immediately behind the image.

[1] These remarks point to the conclusion that the statue does not represent *a* Bodhisattva, but *the* Bodhisattva, *i.e.*, Gautama, before he became a Buddha. [S. K.]

Another statue which belongs to the same school is the Śrāvastī image from Set-Mahet in the Calcutta Museum described by Dr. Bloch[1] which for the sake of comparison is illustrated in Fig. d of Plate XXVI. In the inscription on this, as well as on a Muttra image in the Lucknow Museum, occurs the name of the *bhikṣu* Bala, who is also mentioned in the Sārnāth inscriptions. The appearance, material, and epigraphs on these three statues leave no doubt as to their belonging to one and the same age and school of sculpture, which seems to have flourished in the Kuṣaṇa period at Muttra, the ancient Mathurā. There the first form of the distinctly Indian Buddha image as apart from the Græco-Buddhist type would appear to have originated. The two images found at Sārnāth are the earliest known examples of this indigenous development, and the inscription on one of them becomes of special value on account of the date it contains.[2] From the inscription we also gather that the donors had erected an umbrella, which must have stood over the image. Near the place where the latter was found, was set up an octagonal fragment of a column 4′ 9″ high and 10½″ thick (see W on Pl. XVI).

It likewise bears an inscription, which identifies the octagonal stump with part of the post on which the stone umbrella was originally placed. The post probably, like most Indian columns, was square below, octagonal in the centre, and round above. So this octagonal fragment must have been the central part of the post, just above the level of the eye.

The umbrella I was fortunate enough to discover near by. An illustration of it is given in Plate XXVII. It measures ten feet across, and takes the shape of an inverted full-blown lotus. Round the raised centre of the flower is a ring of twelve winged animals, including the elephant, lion, *makara*, tiger, antelope, camel, bull, etc.; each animal is separated from the next by a small lotus rosette set in a square panel. The next outer ring contains twelve Buddhist symbols, among which may be distinguished the sacred conch shell used for libations and as horn to announce the temple service; the mystic svastika cross or fylfot of Christian art; a vessel with fruit; the *triratna* symbol representing the "three jewels" or refuges of the Buddhist Church, Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Saṅgha (the community); the lucky fish; and the auspicious flower vase (Skr. *maṅgala-kalaśa*).

A smaller plain stone umbrella was found west of the Main Shrine as also some fragments of others in various parts of the excavations.

One of the most interesting sculptures found at Sārnāth is a Buddha image (list No. 28) seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), Plate XXVIII, a. The upper portion of the slab with the head of the figure and halo is missing, and both arms are injured. The dress is only indicated by the line of the upper hem running over the left shoulder, leaving the right one bare. The position of the hands of the image shows that it represents Gautama at the moment, immediately preceding his enlightenment, when assailed by Māra, the evil one, he touched the earth to induce her to bear witness to his good deeds in previous existences. It is noteworthy that the palm of the left hand has a groove cut across it as if some object had been attached to it. The base is carved in imitation of a stone wall. In the centre, within

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, LXVII, Part I, 1898, page 274, and *E. I.*, VIII, p. 180.

[2] For a fuller discussion of this point see Dr. Vogel's paper in the *E. I.*, VIII, p. 173.



a



b



c



d

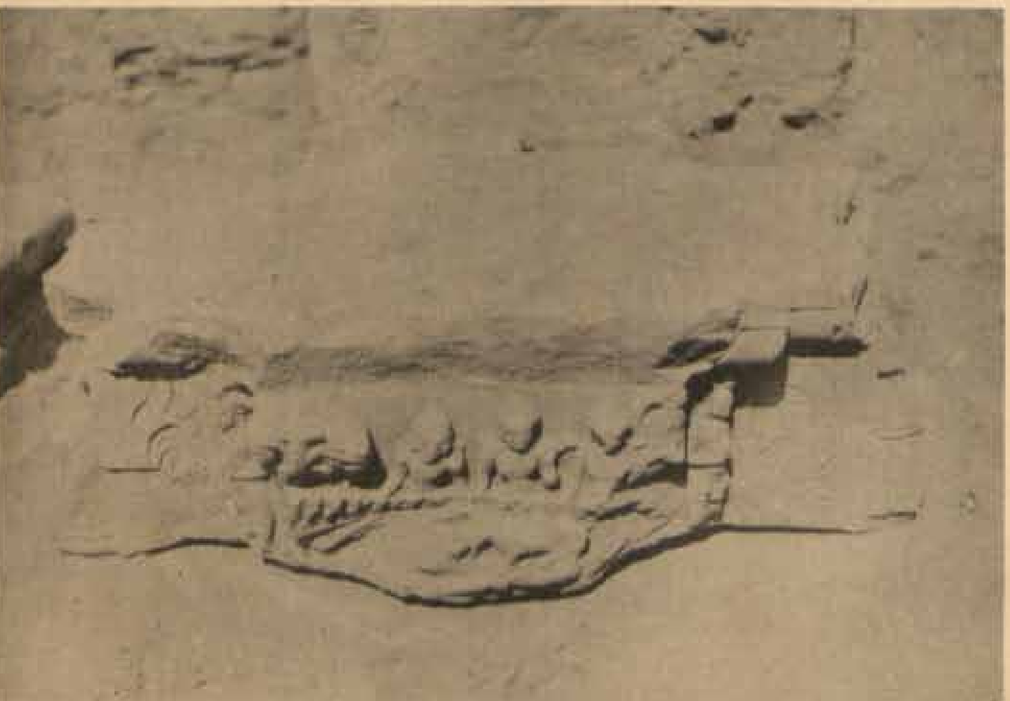
(*a*) AVALOKITEŚVARA AND MAITREYA FROM CHAUKHANDI. (*b*) AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH ALMSBOWL.



a



b



c

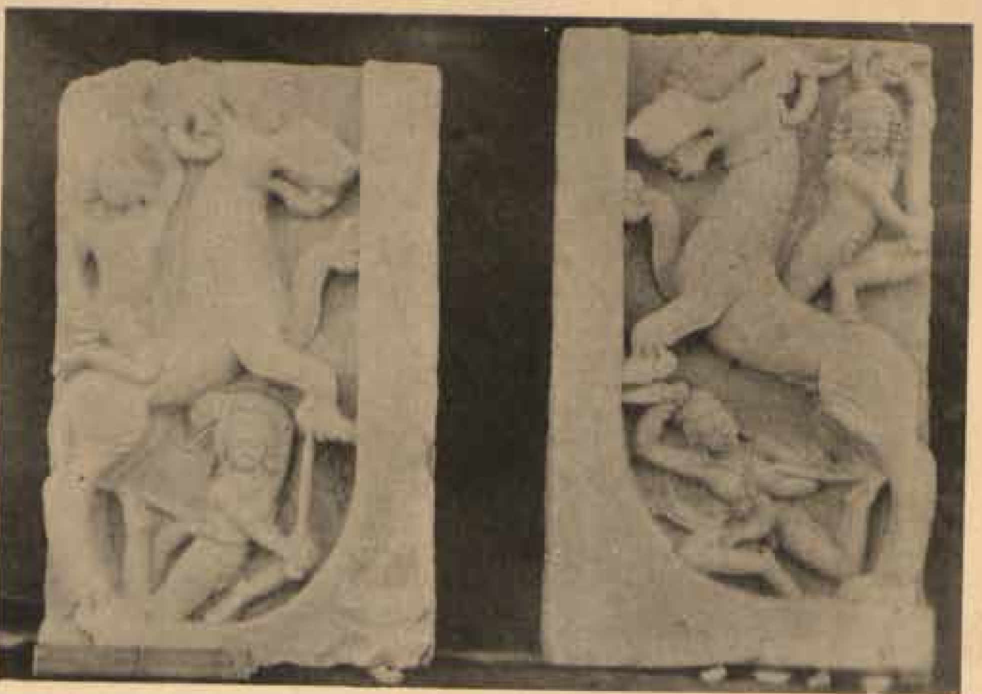


d

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.



a



b



c



d

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.

a sunk medallion, probably meant for a cave, a lion is resting with its head on its paws.[1] Against the base, in high relief, are four figures; to the left a kneeling woman with a child joining its hands in adoration, and to the right a running female figure with another child kneeling in front of it much defaced. It is curious to note that the kneeling figures on the left seem to be naked, while the woman on the other side has long garments floating in the wind. Whether this relief represents some legendary scene or has reference to some event in the life of the donor, I cannot decide.

Above the lion a semicircular groove is scooped out of the base of the image dividing the inscription into two portions. A similar groove may be noticed in the colossal Bodhisattva statue described above, p. 78. The inscription, No. XXII, is in late Gupta characters and may be assigned to the sixth or seventh century A.D. The letters are raised, and, as far as I know, this is the case with no other inscription of the pre-Muhammadan period. The text reads:—*Deyadharmmoyaṁ Śākyabhikṣo[h] sthavira-Bandhuguptasya.* "This [is] the gift of the Buddhist friar, the senior monk Bandhugupta."

On the back of the slab are scratched in the stone the outlines of eight *stūpas* in two vertical lines separated by the mark of a post or pillar.

The excavations yielded several statues which evidently represent Bodhisattvas. One of the most remarkable of these is the one entered as No. 119 in the attached list of sculptures (4′ 6″). This statue may be safely identified with Avalokiteśvara, as proved by the small figure of the Dhyānī-Buddha Amitābha in his head-dress and from the two *pretas*[2] kneeling in supplication by his side, beneath the lotus on which he is standing (Plate XXVIII, b). Amitābha Buddha is represented in the attitude of meditation, *dhyāna-mudrā*, with his hands resting on his lap.

The Bodhisattva figure is adorned with suitable ornaments. The dress lies so close to the body that, if it were not for the folds of the drapery showing below, one would hardly notice it. Both arms of the statue are broken, but from other examples there can be little doubt that the right hand was held down with open palm in the gift-bestowing attitude, *varada-mudrā*, whilst the left held a lotus flower of which a portion of the stalk is still perceptible near the foot.

On the base of the statue there is the following inscription, No. XVIII, in Gupta characters of the fifth century:—

1. *Oṁ Deyadharmmo yaṁ paramopāsaka-viṣayapati-Suyāttrasya.*

2. *Yad=attra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvvasatvānām-anuttara-jñānāvāptaye.*

"Oṁ—This [is] the pious gift of the lay-member Suyātra the head of a district. Whatsoever merit [there is] in this [gift], let it be to the acquirement of supreme wisdom by all sentient beings."

There is another inscribed Bodhisattva statue (list No. 120, ht. 4′) which probably represents Mañjuśrī, the personification of Wisdom, as Avalokiteśvara is taken to be the personification of Compassion (Plate XXVIII, c). The right arm of the statue is broken, but was evidently in the gift-bestowing attitude, *varada-mudrā*.

[1] A lion may be seen similarly placed on the base of a seated Buddha figure excavated by Major Kittoe at Sārnāth and shown on Plate I of his volume of drawings.

[2] The *pretas* are tantalized spirits. They are usually represented with inflated bodies and pointed snouts with pin-prick openings too small to enable them to quench their thirst. Here they take the form of skeletons emaciated by starvation. Cf. Foucher *Iconographie bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p. 102, and fig. 12.

The left hand holds a long stalk, but the flower at the end is unfortunately missing. It will be noticed that the small Dhyāni-Buddha in the head-dress is in the earth-touching attitude and therefore not Amitābha but Akṣobhya, which would lead us to identify the image with Mañjuśrī. There are two small attendant female figures standing on either side on lotus flowers.

The inscription (list No. XXIV) incised on the back of the image, is in characters of the seventh century A.D., and consists of the so-called Buddhist creed or formula of the law, followed by the word *Arolika*, which may be the name of the donor.

It is interesting to compare the Bodhisattva type presented by this image with that of the last statue, which is presumably some two centuries older. They both have long flowing hair reaching down to the shoulders and wear ornaments, which, however, are much more numerous and elaborate in the later image. In the later example the drapery folds have disappeared altogether and the only clue to the dress is the lower hem seen below the knees.

A third Bodhisattva (list No. 118, ht. 4′ 6″), without an inscription, is presumably of an earlier type than the two last. If one may judge from its Dhyāni-Buddha, this statue would appear to represent the future Buddha Maitreya. Unfortunately the image is much mutilated. The feet and arms are broken and the upper part of the slab is missing. Apparently the right hand was in the *varada-mudrā*, and the left held a flower stalk. The costume is that of a Buddha clothed in thin muslin, the folds of which are indicated by wavy lines. The hair is remarkably long and falls down in masses over the shoulders. Noticeable is the total absence of ornaments. Against the hair above the head is placed a Dhyāni-Buddha which, from its attitude, I take to be Amoghasiddhi, and so I identify the image with Maitreya. Judging from the greater simplicity of treatment, I am inclined to place this image before the last two in the Gupta period.

Two more Bodhisattva figures may be mentioned here, found at Chaukhaṇḍī (list Nos. 471 and 472, ht. 2′ 1″). They are carved in relief and placed in sunk panels. One is undoubtedly Avalokiteśvara: the gesture of the right hand, *varada-mudrā*, the lotus flower in the left, and the Buddha figurine in *dhyāna-mudrā* in the head-dress confirm this identification. On his right side a female figure is kneeling with clasped hands, presumably a human worshipper (Plate XXIX, a). The Bodhisattva on the other stone is in the same posture but has no Dhyāni-Buddha in his head-dress. The armlet on the right arm and bracelets on both wrists may be noted: these are absent in the first figure. The flower in his left hand seems to be a *champā* (Michelia champaka) conventionally treated. I therefore take the figure to be Maitreya, although it must be admitted that the identity of the flower is not certain. The absence of the *stūpa* and the ointment vessel, the ordinary attribute of Maitreya, are also to be noted. On the other hand we know that Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya are the favourite attendants of Śākyamuni, and as these two sculptures undoubtedly formed a pair, we may assume them to represent these two Bodhisattvas.

A well preserved piece of sculpture (list No. 141, ht. 4′ 1″) and two slightly injured replicas (Nos. 142, 143) show a figure with long ringlets seated cross-legged and holding with both hands a bowl in front of his breast (Plate XXIX, b). A small Buddha

in the *dhyāna-mudrā* is placed on his head, whilst a male and female figure, each holding a bowl, stand on his shoulders. The Dhyāni-Buddha would seem to indicate that this figure represents Avalokiteśvara, but its appearance is so different from the usual aspect of this deity that the identification is by no means certain. The figure wears a necklace, armlets, and bracelets. The presence of dress can only be inferred from the marks of the waistband and the hem below the knee. It will have been noticed that all the Bodhisattvas so far described have long flowing hair or ringlets; this is in accordance with the tradition that the Bodhisattva Gautama had long hair which he cut off with his sword on becoming a recluse.

A sculpture remarkable for its fine execution and excellent preservation is a Buddha image (list No. 23, ht. 5′ 3″) seated in the attitude of turning the wheel of the law (c. on Plate XXIX). That this sculpture is intended to give the scene of the first sermon is apparent from the wheel, shown facing, flanked by two deer, and from the five mendicants with their shaven heads kneeling below, on the right. The female figure with the child kneeling on the left is probably the donor of the image. From the treatment of the dress and the exquisitely carved halo, one may infer that this image belongs to the Gupta period. The rampant winged leogryphs supporting the top bar of the seat, with the *makara* heads above, form a well known device. Above at the sides of the halo are two flying figures in the act of showering heavenly flowers. The curious position of the legs, by which, in the absence of wings, the act of flying is indicated, will hardly require comment. This image was the first one brought to light by me in the course of the excavations and was hailed with special delight as so eminently appropriate to the site. It will be noticed that in this sculpture all the features of the later type of Buddha image are already fixed, *viz.*, the prominence on the top of the head, Skr. *uṣṇīṣa*, the arrangement of the hair in rows of formal curls, the long pendant ears, thick lips and folds on the neck, etc.

Among the Buddha images from Sārnāth, there is a statue (list No. 16, ht. 6′ 9″) in spotted white standstone. The head, which was broken off, has been refixed (d on Plate XXIX). The right hand raised in the attitude of protection, *abhaya-mudrā*, is free from the body and not resting against the shoulder as in other statues of the kind. The left holds the hem of the garment. The latter is not indicated by folds except above the feet and below the left hand. The hair is arranged in the same conventional curls as in the last figure, and the halo, which was found detached near the statue, is similarly carved. The treatment of the dress it has in common with an inscribed statuette from Sārnāth now in the Lucknow Museum. This helps us in assigning the statue to the Gupta period.

It is remarkable that scenes from the life of the Buddha, so frequent in earlier Buddhist art, are hardly found at Sārnāth. In mediæval sculpture those scenes are almost entirely reduced to the four great events of Buddha's life: his birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and death. These four scenes are not infrequently found carved one above the other on steles (Skr. *ūrdhvapaṭṭa*). The Calcutta Museum possesses a complete specimen of this kind from Sārnāth on which the nativity occupies the lower and the *parinirvāṇa* the upper panel.[1] Among the sculptures under discussion there is a fragment (list No. 231, ht. 1′ 10″) partly defaced, which formed the lower half of a similar stele, see Plate XXX, fig. a. It contains two panels, representing the birth

[1] Foucher, *op cit.*, p. 165, fig. 29.

and the enlightenment, with the usual accompaniment to the latter of Māra's attack (Skr. *Māra-dharṣaṇa*).

The centre of the lower panel is occupied by Māyā holding a branch of the *śāla* tree, under which she is standing. Of the other figures, which are more or less obliterated, that on her left is her sister Prajāpati on whom she leans, and on the other side are Brahmā and Indra. On the stele in the Indian Museum, one of these two deities, *viz.*, Brahmā, receives the child in a kneeling position. To judge from appearances, this must also have been the case here. In Græco-Buddhist bas-reliefs of the same scene, the two gods are invariably shown standing. On the broken stele under discussion, we may notice some *devatās* in the upper corners of the lower panel and two standing Buddhas, one on each side.

In the next higher panel is a figure of the Buddha in the earth-touching pose (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), seated under the bodhi tree. This recalls the scene when Buddha, assailed by Māra, touched the earth to call her to witness to his good deeds in previous existences. To his right, we recognise Māra, not only from his attribute, the bow, but also from the *makara* standard (*makaradhvaja*) held by his attendant. The two female figures on the other side must be Māra's seductive daughters, although in the texts their number is always given as three.[1] In front of the Buddha's seat are the defeated demons of Māra's host. Scenes from Buddha's life are also found on an exquisitely carved fragment (list No. 160, ht. 6½″), see Fig. 8. The central image is missing, but from the foliage of the bodhi tree, the pipal or *ficus religiosa*, preserved over the halo, it is known to have been Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment. At his side are seen a number of flying figures—placed in a vertical row. Beginning from below on



Fig. 8.

[1] Kern, *Manual*, p. 21, footnote 5.

the left we have on the outer edge the birth-scene, of which only half the figure of Māyā is preserved; then the first sermon, and above this the miracle of Rājagṛha, *i.e.*, the subduing of the mad elephant Nālāgiri, by which Devadatta attempted to destroy the Buddha. It is interesting to note how in similar scenes the elaborate and life-like representations of Gandhāra have developed into mere repetitions of a central Buddha figure, whose pose and some attendant symbol alone show what scene is intended. The death-scene, which occupies the top of the fragment, has alone preserved most of its original features. Between the twin *śāla* trees the Buddha is lying on his couch resting on his right side with his right hand under his head. The mourning figures have been reduced to three in front and two at the back. Over the couch we notice a *stūpa*. In front of the two *śāla* trees at either side two small figures are standing, perhaps the tree spirits who in Græco-Buddhist sculptures are often seen in the midst of the foliage. Whether the two remaining Buddha figures on the fragment refer to some legend or are merely intended to fill up the space, it is not easy to say.

At the east entrance to the temple, two carved stones were found, 2′ 10″ square, probably used as capitals (list Nos. 464 and 465), see Plate XXX, Figs. b and c. The first of these has a seated Buddha figure on three sides and a representation of the *parinirvāṇa* on the fourth. One of the Buddha figures shows Buddha seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* or meditative attitude, sheltered by the coils and hood of a three-headed snake. This refers to the legend of the *nāgarāja* Mucalinda guarding Buddha during a thunderstorm, as he sat lost in meditation under the bodhi tree at Bodh-Gayā.[1] The other stone is also decorated with Buddha figures, and has on one side a curious relief, on which a tiger can be distinguished in the act of devouring a man, while three women are watching the scene from behind what appears to be a fort wall. This has probably reference to the Buddha in one of his previous existences giving his body to feed a hungry tigress.

Statues and statuettes of goddesses have been found in considerable number in the course of the excavation. Here the identification is even more difficult than in the case of the Bodhisattvas, especially as several of these images are incomplete. One of the best preserved specimens is a relief (list No. 131, ht. 1′ 10″) showing a goddess seated on a lotus in the easy attitude known as *lalitāsana*, see Plate XXX, fig. d. Undoubtedly this figure represents Tārā, holding a blue lotus (Skr. *utpala*) in the left hand, whilst the right is in the gift-bestowing gesture (*varada-mudrā*). A female attendant is kneeling against her left knee, and an adoring figure, with a censer, projects from the base. On both sides of the halo, which has the appearance of an expanded flower, there are the usual flower-showering genii. The bar of the seat, decorated with the usual *makara* heads, is supported by rampant lions.

Possibly we may recognise Tārā also in a statuette (list No. 129, ht. 1′ 5″) of a goddess seated on a lotus in the *lalitāsana* or easy fashion and holding a red lotus flower (Skr. *padma*) in the left hand, see Plate XXX, fig. d. The other hand is broken. She wears rich jewellery and an elaborate diadem crowned by the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha. To her left is a small *stūpa*. In the lotus scrolls below the seat may be noticed a duck sitting on a leaf. The same decorative device occurs in the scroll-work on the south-west side of the Dhamek tower.

[1] Kern, *Manual*, p. 21.

Some distance north of the Dhamek tower, where the new road has been made, was found a standing figure of the same goddess Tārā (list No. 132, ht. 4′ 8″), see Plate XXXI, Fig. a. It may be noticed that she has rather prominent breasts and is resting her weight on one foot, thereby bringing out one hip in a voluptuous curve. This is a favourite attitude with Indian sculptors. The figure is profusely decorated and would form an excellent subject for a student of Indian jewellery. A little Dhyāni-Buddha appears in the diadem. The arms are broken at the elbow, but the breakage indicates that the right hand was in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the left held a flower, the stalk of which is partly preserved. It is curious to find holes in the arms, suggesting a previous restoration of the missing parts. One of the two little attending figures seems to hold an *aśoka*-flower, the attribute of Mārīcī, the goddess of Dawn, and the corpulence of the other would indicate that it is of the class of malignant deities, to which Ekajaṭā, in reality only a malignant form of Tārā, belongs.[1]



Fig. 9.

With the above statue may be compared another standing image (list No. 121, ht. 2′ 1″), of which the head and hands are missing (Plate XXX, Fig. a). Like the last figure, it is profusely ornamented and attended by two smaller figures of goddesses. Each of these holds a fruit and an ear of corn, and, as they seem to be repetitions of the central figure, this may perhaps be identified with Vasudhārā, the goddess of plenty, the *śakti* or female counterpart of Kuvera or Jambhala, the god of wealth. The vases on which she stands, must be the *bhadraghaṭa*, the Indian form of cornucopia or horn of plenty.

It is interesting to find among the Sārnāth sculptures a statuette (list No. 134, ht. 1′ 2″), which undoubtedly represents Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, playing on the lute (Skr. *vīṇā*) fig. 9. It is the only image of this goddess obtained on a Buddhist site, excepting the well-known example from Gandhāra, identified by Grünwedel.[2] It will be seen that the Buddhist representation of Sarasvatī, the popular goddess of learning and music, does not differ from the Brahmanical one.



Fig. 10.

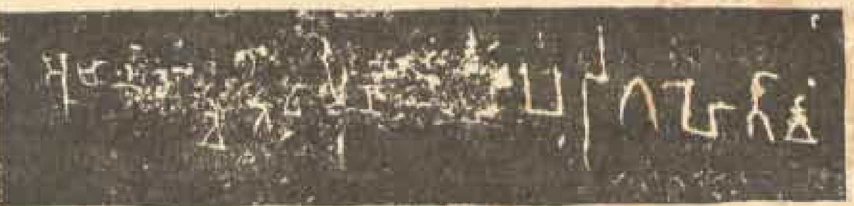
Among other representations of deities I wish to notice two more sculptures. One is a male figure (list No. 125, ht. 13″) wearing a high tiara and seated in an easy attitude, Skr. *lalitāsana*, with one leg drawn up, see Plate XXXI, d. It is surrounded by seven smaller figures, and on the pedestal is a horse. It is not clear what this group represents. The other is the torso of a corpulent figure (list No. 137, ht. 2′ 9″) which possibly represents a yakṣa or demon and may have served the purpose of an Atlant or supporting figure, see fig. 10. With this may be compared a seated corpulent figure, which was also

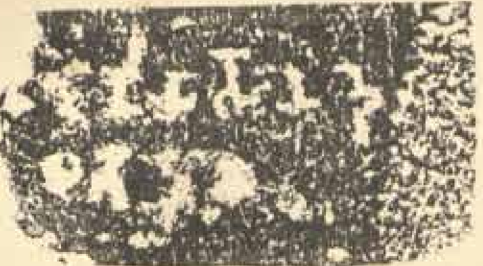
[1] Foucher *Iconographie*, 1905, p. 65.

[2] Grünwedel *Buddhistische Kunst*, 1900, p. 101.


II and XI a.


III


IX

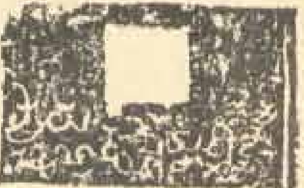

IV

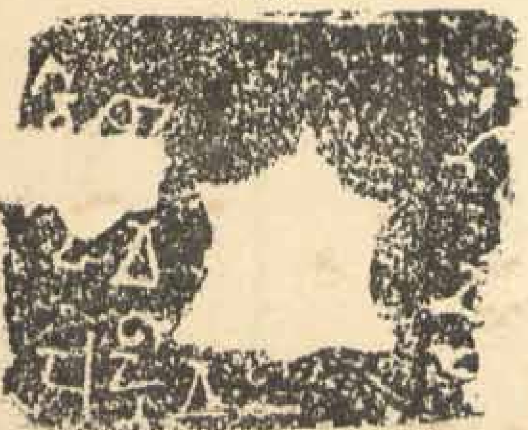

XIII


XIV


XII


XV


XVI


XI b.


XVII


XVIII


XXIII


XXI


XXII

INSCRIPTIONS.

found at Sārnāth. Similar figures were found at Muttra, two of which are now in the local museum there, and another was exhumed not long ago at the Rajghat Fort in Benares in cutting a path down to the river. This latter is still in its original position in the Fort.

The older images of gods and goddesses, so far considered, have only two arms like ordinary mortals. But others were found at Sārnāth with many arms and heads. These images, so favourite in Lamaistic art, seem to represent a later stage in Buddhist sculpture, and are probably due to Brahmanical influences. It should be remembered that four-armed figures of Ugra-Śiva occur already on the coins of Kaniṣka.

An instance of many-armed figures is afforded by a beautifully carved relief (list No. 130, ht. 1′ 6″) showing a group of three deities, two male and one female, seated cross-legged on lotus thrones with four adoring figures underneath (see Plate XXXI, Fig. d). Each of these three figures has four arms, of which two are joined in adoration, Skr. *namaskāra*, whilst the other two hold, one a rosary and the other a lotus flower. The central figure is made more important than the two others, but the four arms and halos mark all three as deities. I propose to identify this group with the Triratna or Buddhist trinity found at Bodh-Gayā.[1]



Fig. 11.

We next come to a six-armed female figure with three heads (list No. 126, ht. 1′ 10″) easily recognisable as Mārīcī, the goddess of Dawn, also called Vajravarāhī, the "She boar of the Thunderbolt." (See Plate XXX, d.) The goddess is represented in the usual archer position. Of the six arms, the two upper, which are broken, probably held a thunderbolt (Skr. *vajra*) and an *aśoka* flower. The other attributes are a bow, an arrow and an elephant goad (Skr. *aṅkuśa*). The last hand, raised menacingly (*tarjanīmudrā*), holds a noose (Skr. *pāśa*). Mārīcī is here represented with

[1] Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXVI.

three heads, one of which is a boar's head. In the diadem over the central head will be seen the figurine of Vairocana in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. On the base are the usual seven boars, surmounted by the figure of the charioteer. In one corner below are a couple of human votaries, probably the donors of the image. On the right seems to have been an inscription, but this is unfortunately no longer decipherable.

Another fragment (list No. 144, ht. 1′ 4″) represents the base of a similar Mārīcī statue, see Plate XXXI, Fig. c. In this the chariot can be distinctly seen with the wheels at the sides and the mask of Rāhu, over which the charioteer sits astride, while below are the seven pigs. Two boar-headed attendants seem to have stood on both sides of the central figure, which is entirely lost.

I may mention that a similar figure of Mārīcī was found at Bōdh-Gayā but with eight, instead of six, arms.[1]

Perhaps the most striking of all the Sārnāth sculptures is the bust (list No. 133, ht. 1′ 7″) of a four-headed goddess, profusely decorated, see Fig. 11. In the elaborate



Fig. 12.

head-dress of the front face, four small Buddha figures in various postures have been introduced. The one in the centre and that to its right, are in the earth-touching attitude, that to the left in the preaching attitude, and the top one is seated in meditation. This is probably another representation of Tara, who is sometimes spoken of as a four-headed goddess.

A pair of well preserved sculptures (list Nos. 474 and 475, ht. 3′) found at Chaukhaṇḍī display two rampant leogryphs ridden by figures armed with swords. One of these is astride, while the other kneels on the back of the lion. To judge from the position of their legs the figures beneath are flying, and, as they hold on to the lions' tails, the animals themselves are probably meant to be transported through the air. The

[1] Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXX.

faces and long hair of the two equestrian figures bear a striking likeness to that of the supposed Avalokiteśvara with the alms-bowl, see p. 82 above. The flying figures, it may be noticed, have their hair arranged differently from that of the upper figures. The two pieces of sculpture were evidently intended to occupy corresponding positions, perhaps on either side of steps leading to the upper terrace of the Chaukhaṇḍi *stūpa*.

Among the numerous carved stones which made part of some building, I wish to draw attention to a well executed bas-relief (list No. 427 ht. 1′5″), which apparently decorated a doorway, Fig. 12. It contains portions of horizontal and vertical borders of various floral designs, among which is a beautiful vine pattern with a parrot pecking at a bunch of grapes. Of special interest is a panel on which is seen a *stūpa* being worshipped by a harpy (Skr. *kinnara* or *suparṇa*) carrying a garland, and an elephant offering a bunch of lotus flowers. The harpy, with its turban, stumpy wings and long tail, is similar to those found on Muttra sculptures.[1] Possibly this panel refers to the legend of the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma,[2] according to tradition the only one of the eight *stūpas* containing Buddha's relics left undisturbed by Aśoka. The story is that this place having become a desert, the sacred *stūpa* was attended and worshipped by wild elephants. The Nāgas or snakes encircling the dome of the *stūpa* have no doubt reference to the Nāga who guarded the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* and persuaded Aśoka from destroying it for the sake of its relics. As the Sanskrit word *naga* means both "snake" and "elephant," the two legends have probably a common origin. The representation of the *stūpa* is worth noticing with its encircling railing, dome, and "tee", as the crowning feature is called. Above the "tee" may be seen a stone umbrella and two *chauris* or fly-whisks.

Further Inscriptions.

Besides the inscriptions already discussed in connection with the buildings and sculptures, the following may be noticed—

On two fragments of a slab (list No. 279) there are the beginnings of four lines of an inscription (No. XII) in Gupta characters of the fifth century, reading:—

Māgha di 30 eva (m)
dharmmo di

Inscription XIII is cut in one line of 18″ in length on a detached base (list No. 30), which must have belonged to a Buddha image. This is evident from the inscription. Unfortunately the image itself has not been recovered. The characters are of the fifth century, very distinct and throughout legible. The legend, composed in a stanza of pure Sanskrit, runs as follows:—

Oṁ Ādityabandhor=Buddhasya pratim=āpratimadyuteḥ kāritā
Śīlayaśasā kāṅkṣatā padam=uttamam

"Om. Of the Sun's kinsman the Buddha of matchless splendour [this] image was caused to be made by Śilayaśas striving after the highest state of bliss."

With this inscription may be compared one on a Buddha statue discovered by Cunningham at Sārnāth and now preserved in the Calcutta Museum.[3]

Inscriptions Nos. XIV and XV are likewise incised on detached bases of images (list Nos. 21 and 22). Both are in Gupta characters of the fifth century, but the

[1] Vincent Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa*, Plate XVI. [2] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, Intr., p. 50.
[3] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 123, Pl XXXIV No. 4, and Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 281, No. 75.

letters are partly obliterated, and in No. XIV the greater portion of the epigraph is destroyed. Both are votive inscriptions of the ordinary type beginning with *Deyadharmo-yam* and ending with the formula *yad=atra puṇyaṁ*, etc., see above p. 81.

The donor of XIV was a Buddhist monk (*Śākyabhikṣu*); the name of the other donor seems to be Dharmasiṁha.

An inscription (No. XVII) of the same kind is found on the base of an image (list No. 50) of which only the feet remain. It consists of two lines 13″ and $7\frac{1}{2}$″ long.

1. *Deyadharmmo=yaṁ śākyabhikṣo[r=] Buddhapr(pri)yasya yad=attra puṇyaṁ*
2. *tad=bhavatv=anuttarajñānāvāptaye*

"This [is] the gift of the Buddhist friar Buddhapriya. Whatsoever merit [there is] in this [gift] let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom."

The remaining epigraphs seldom contain anything more than the so-called Buddhist creed or formula of the faith (*dharma-paryāya*), and are, therefore, only of interest as determining the approximate date of the sculpture on which they are found. There are several versions of this "creed" found at Sārnāth. The oldest inscription of this kind (No. XXI), in character of the fifth century, is found on the detached hand of an image. But all other specimens belong to a later period. The religious practice of incising this formula on sculptures and slabs and stamping it on seals does not seem to have come into vogue at Sārnāth until the Gupta period. From I-tsing we learn that in his time it was a common practice in India to inscribe the creed or "Gāthā of the Chain of Causation" on images and other *caityas*. He gives the following rendering of the Gāthā :—

'*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavās teshāṁ hetuṁ tathāgata uvāca.*
Teshāṁ ca yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.
"All things arise from a cause.
The Tathāgata has explained the cause.
This cause of things has been finally destroyed;
Such is the teaching of the Great Śramaṇa the (Buddha)."[1]

Besides epigraphs on stone, the Sārnāth excavations yielded four inscriptions on baked clay, which deserve to be briefly noticed. In clearing a débris mound, in connection with the building of a stone shed for the sculptures, two small clay tablets were found, measuring 15-16″ in diameter and inscribed with the Buddhist creed. Considering their small size, the letters are remarkably clear. The two inscriptions belong to different periods. In both cases the legend is divided over five lines. The older of the two, in which the letters slope to the right, may be assigned to the sixth, the other to the eighth or ninth century.[2]

Clay tablets of this kind are common on every Buddhist site. Of far greater interest are two other inscribed clay objects discovered at Sārnāth. One is a seal found during the excavation of the temple mound. It measures only $\frac{5}{8}$″ and must have been attached to some object, of which the traces are visible on the back. The obverse shows the well-known wheel-and-deer symbol and under it the legend *Śrī-Guptasiṁhasya* in character of presumably the fifth or sixth century. We infer from this legend that the seal belonged to a person of the name of Guptasiṁha. The other seal is of considerably larger size ($1\frac{5}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$″). It was found in clearing débris for the

[1] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, translated by Takakusu, p. 151.
[2] It is noteworthy that on the first the tripartite and on the second the bipartite form of *ya* is used.

extension of the sculpture shed and would seem to belong not to a private individual but to a monastic establishment. It is of the same type as the *vihāra* seals found at Kasiā. Unfortunately the edge is much worn and the legend partly lost, whilst the remaining portion is far from distinct. The upper half is occupied by the wheel-and-deer symbol, separated by a double horizontal line from the lower half containing the legend in two lines. It reads: *Śrī sad-dharmma* [*cakkre*] (2) [*bhikṣu*] *sa*[*ṅghasya*]. The character seems to be that of the fifth or sixth century. The restoration of the missing or uncertain *akṣaras* is based on the analogy of the Kasiā seals. The word *dharmacakra* is supplied by the Mahīpāla inscription. It is noteworthy that the word *Srī-dharmma* [*c*]*akk*[*r*]*e* also occurs on the clay seal found by Professor Hall in the course of his Sārnāth excavations.[1]

APPENDIX A.

List of Sculptures.

1. Aśoka column with lion-capital. Inscriptions I, VII, and X.[2] (See above, p. 68.) *In situ*.
2. Seven pillars and two rails of an ornamental railing. (See above, p. 66.) Round Aśoka pillar.
3. Four fragments of pillars (three inscribed) and three bars of a railing. Inscriptions II-IV and XI. (See above, p. 66.) South of Shrine.
4. Railing round small *stūpa* in south chapel of Shrine. (See p. 68.) Inscription V. *In situ*.
5. Colossal statue (total ht. 9' 6") of a Bodhisattva with Inscription VI of the third year of Kaniṣka. (See above, p. 78.) North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
6. Octagonal umbrella post (ht. 4' 9") with inscription VII of the third year of Kaniṣka. (See above, p. 80.) South of Shrine, re-erected.
7. Stone umbrella (10' in diameter) with ornamental carvings, south-east of U. Presumably belonging to No. 6. (See above, p. 80.)
8. Fragment (13½" × 7") of inscribed slab of the reign of Aśvaghoṣha. Inscription VIII. East of Shrine.
9. Statue (ht. 6' 1") of a Bodhisattva (?) with umbrella post; probably Kuṣaṇa period. Head and hand missing. Figurine between feet. North of Shrine, *in situ*.
10. Statue (ht. 4' 7") of a standing Buddha. Head, arms, and feet lost. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.
11. Pedestal (ht. 8") of a statue. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
12. Fragment (ht. 3') of a halo with two flying figures in relief.
13. Two fragments of a halo (3' 2" in diameter) decorated with scroll-work. South-west of U. (See Plate No. 2.)
14. Pedestal (ht. 11") with feet of a statue of Buddha (?) standing. South-east of Shrine.
15. Pedestal (width 2' 4½") of a statue. South-east of V.
16. Statue (ht. 6' 9") of a Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*), of white sandstone. South-east of Shrine. (See above, p. 83.)
17. Pedestal (width 1' 8") of a statue. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.
18. Statue (ht. 2' 5") of a Buddha seated in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). The five mendicant friars and the wheel-and-deer symbol indicate the first sermon at Benares. North of Stūpa T. The sculpture shows traces of red paint.
19. Pedestal (ht. 4") of a statue. North-east of Shrine.

---

[1] Cunningham *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 129, Plate XXXIV.   [2] Refers to List of inscriptions following.

20. Statue (ht. 7′ 6″) of a Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*) and portions of halo ornamented with scroll-work. The sculpture is of white sandstone. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.
21. Pedestal (width 1′ 11″) with inscription XIV.
22. Pedestal (width 1′ 3″) of a statue with inscription XV.
23. Statue (ht. 5′ 3″) of a Buddha seated in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). Ornamental halo with two flying figures in relief. The five mendicant friars and the wheel-and-deer symbol indicate the first sermon. South of Jagat Singh pillar. (See above, p. 83.)
24. Pedestal (width 1′ 5″) of a statue. South of Shrine.
25. Statue (ht. 4′ 6″) of Buddha standing. Feet, arms, and halo broken. North-east of umbrella post No. 6.
26. Lower portion (width 3′ 3″) of seated Buddha statue. North-east corner of V.
27. Base (width 1′) of a statue. North-west of Shrine, near X.
28. Image (ht. 4′) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). Head missing, arms injured. On base, relief showing lion in centre and two female figures each with a child. Over relief an inscription, XXII, in raised letters. (See above p. 80.) South-east of Shrine.
29. Statue (ht. 4′ 2″) of Buddha standing. Head and hands lost. South-east of Shrine.
30. Pedestal (width 6″) with inscription XIII in one line. West of Shrine.
31. Base (width 11″) of a statue with ornamental carvings and an inscription, XL, in two lines.
32. Statue (ht. 4′ 3″) of Buddha standing. Head lost. *In situ*. North-west of Shrine.
33. Image (ht. 3′) of Buddha seated in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*) with two small figures of lions at the sides and six small standing figures beneath. All damaged. South of Jagat Singh stūpa.
34. Image (ht. 1′ 6½″) of Buddha standing. Face, hands, and feet broken. North-west of temple.
35. Statuette (ht. 10″) of Buddha seated in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). Head lost.
36. Statue (ht. 4′ 9″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). Hands lost. South-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
37. Statuette (ht. 1′) of Buddha standing. Feet and right arm broken.
38. Statuette (ht. 1′ 1½″) of Buddha seated in meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). Head missing. South of Jagat Singh stūpa.
39. Statuette (ht. 11½″) of Buddha standing in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*).
40. Statue (ht. 3′ 6″) of Buddha standing. Defaced. Hands lost. North of V.
41. Head (ht. 11″) of Buddha figure.
42. Image (ht. 1′ 6½″) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). South-west of the umbrella post No. 6.
43. Torso (ht. 7″) of Buddha figure.
44. Statuette (ht. 10″) of Buddha in the attitude of expounding the law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). Head lost. The five mendicant friars and the wheel-and-deer symbol on the pedestal indicate the first sermon. North-west of Shrine.
45. Pedestal (ht. 1′ 2″) of a Buddha image, with wheel-and-deer symbol.
46. Figurine (ht. 6″) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). Head lost.
47. Figurine (ht. 11″) of Buddha standing.
48. Feet (ht. 1′ 1″) of standing Buddha.
49. Lower portion (ht. 6″) of Buddha seated in earth-touching attitude.
50. Base (width 1′ 3″) with feet of standing Buddha (?) image. Inscription XVII in Gupta characters. (See above, p. 90.) South-east of Shrine.

51. Base (ht. 6½″) with feet of standing Buddha and kneeling figures. South-west of U.
52. Image (ht. 3′ 3″) of Buddha. Head, arms, and feet lost. South of Shrine.
53. Feet (ht. 8″) of Buddha figure.
54. Torso (ht. 1′ 5″) of Buddha figure. South of Shrine.
55. Image (ht. 1′ 3½″) of Buddha delivering his first sermon.
56. Torso (ht. 6″) of Buddha figure. South-east of U.
57. Lower portion (ht. 10″) of Buddha figure seated in the earth-touching attitude. The *vajrāsana* indicated by a *vajra* in front of the figure.
58-62. Pedestals of Buddha figures.
63. Torso (ht. 1′ 11″) of Buddha figure standing. North of Aśoka column.
64. Torso (ht. 1′ 2″) of standing Buddha figure.
65. Lower portion of Buddha figure seated in meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). South of Shrine.
66. Lower portion (ht. 9″) of standing Buddha image with two attendant figures.
67. Torso (ht. 11″) of a standing Buddha figure. South-west of Shrine.
68. Image (ht. 1′ 10″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). Head and hands lost. South of Aśoka column.
69. Statuette (ht. 1′) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). South of Aśoka column.
70. Statuette (ht. 1′) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). Head and feet lost. South of Aśoka column.
71. Statuette (ht. 10″) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude. South of Shrine.
72. Statuette (ht. 11″) of Buddha preaching his first sermon. South-west of Shrine.
73. Statuette (ht. 8″) of Buddha preaching his first sermon. South-west of Shrine.
74. Statuette (ht. 10″) of Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). South-west of Shrine.
75. Statuette (ht. 1′ 1½″) of Buddha preaching. Figure with fly-whisk (*cāmara*) to left. South-west of Aśoka column.
76. Figure (ht. 1′ 5″) of Buddha preaching his first sermon. South-east of Aśoka column.
77. Figure (ht. 9″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*), attended by kneeling figure. Two fragments; head lost. South of Shrine.
78. Figure (ht. 11″) of Buddha seated on a chair. Head and hands missing.
79. Figure (ht. 1′ 1½″) of Buddha preaching his first sermon. Head lost. East of V.
80. Figure (ht. 11″) of Buddha seated under the *Bodhi* tree in the earth-touching attitude. East of V.
81. Figure (ht. 1′ 2″) of Buddha standing. Feet missing. North of W.
82. Torso (ht. 7″) of Buddha statuette in preaching attitude.
83. Statuette (ht. 1′) of Buddha (?) with diadem and ear-rings, seated in the preaching attitude.
84. Statuette (ht. 1′ 2″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). North of Shrine.
85. Statuette (ht. 1′ 10″) of Buddha seated in the preaching attitude (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). Hands lost. South of Aśoka column.
86. Statuette (ht. 9″) of preaching Buddha. Head lost.
87. Statuette (ht. 1′ 1″) of Buddha preaching. Head lost. West of Shrine.
88. Statuette (ht. 1′ 10″) of Buddha preaching. Inscription XXVIII. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
89. Torso (ht. 5½″) of Buddha statuette. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
90. Statuette (ht. 10″) of Buddha preaching. Head missing. North of V.

91. Lower portion (ht. 1′ 2″) of a Buddha figure, seated on a lotus in the preaching attitude (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). Wheel-and-deer symbol. Traces of red paint. Atlantes.
92. Lower portion (ht. 1′ 2″) of standing Buddha figure. South-east of Shrine.
93. Statuette (ht. 1′ 6″) of Buddha preaching. South of Jagat Singh stūpa.
94. Figure (ht. 2′ 3″) of Buddha standing. Feet and one hand lost, attended by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara holding in one hand a fly-whisk and in the other a rosary and lotus-flower. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.
95. Figure (ht. 1′ 5″) of Buddha standing in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*).
96. Head (ht. 8″) of Buddha figure. South-east of Shrine.
97. Figure (ht. 1′ 7″) of Buddha standing in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*). North-west of Shrine.
98. Figure (ht. 1′ 4″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). West of Jagat Singh stūpa.
99. Figure (ht. 1′ 9″) of Buddha preaching. West of Jagat Singh stūpa.
100. Figure (ht. 2′ 9″) of Buddha standing in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.
101. Figure (ht. 2′ 4″) of Buddha standing. West of U.
102. Figure (ht. 8″) of Buddha preaching. Head missing. West of Shrine.
103. Fragment (ht. 8″) of figure of preaching Buddha. North-east of Shrine.
104. Torso (ht. 1′) of Buddha standing.
105. Figurine (ht. 10½″) of Buddha standing with umbrella. Feet lost. South-east corner of U.
106. Lower portion (ht. 1′ 6″) of standing Buddha figure with two attendants holding umbrella and fly-whisk.
107. Torso (ht. 1′ 3″) of Buddha figure. East of Shrine.
108. Torso of Buddha figure. South of umbrella-post No. 6.
109. Torso of Buddha figure. South of Main Shrine.
110. Figure (ht. 1′ 11″) of a preaching Buddha. Head and arms lost. Dress with ornamental hem. The base has pilasters at the corners, two pairs of antelopes, and a kneeling figure beneath. South-west of Shrine.
111. Figure (ht. 1′ 8″) of Buddha standing. Legs missing. North-west of Shrine.
112. Figure (ht. 1′ 4″) of Buddha standing. East of Shrine.
113. Figure (ht. 1′ 5″) of Buddha preaching the first sermon. Head missing. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
114. Figure (ht. 1′ 1″) of preaching Buddha. Much damaged, head missing; on back inscription giving Buddhist creed. Inside Jagat Singh stūpa.
115. Figure (ht. 3′ 3″) of Buddha standing. Head, right arm, and feet missing. North-west of Shrine.
116. Figure (ht. 1′ 3″) of Buddha standing. Head, feet, and left hand missing. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.
117. Figure (ht. 3′ 1″) of Buddha standing in the reassuring attitude (*abhaya-mudrā*). Head and left arm missing. North of stūpa T.
118. Statue (ht. 4′ 6″) of Maitreya (?) standing. Arms and feet broken. Long flowing hair. Figurine of Dhyāni-buddha in head-dress. South-west of U. (See above, p. 82.)
119. Statue (ht. 4′ 6″) of Avalokiteśvara standing on a lotus. Both arms broken. The Bodhisattva wears long locks, various ornaments, a double thread across the breast and a scarf round the loins. At his feet are a pair of *pretas* kneeling; in his diadem the figurine of Amitābha. On base inscription XVIII. (See above, p. 81.)
120. Statue (ht. 4′) of Mañjuśrī standing on a lotus and holding in his left hand a lotus stalk, the flower of which is missing. The right hand, which is broken, must have been in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*). The Bodhisattva wears long

locks and various ornaments. He is attended by two female deities and has the figurine of Akṣobhya in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in his diadem. On the back inscription XXIV. (See above, p. 81.) South-east of Shrine.

121. Figure (ht. 2′ 1″) of female deity standing on a lotus attended by two female figurines. Head and hands missing.

122. Statuette (ht. 1′ 1″) in two fragments of female deity seated on lotus-flower and lion. Waist broken. Two worshipping figures at the sides. West of umbrella-post No. 6.

123. Torso (ht. 10″) of female figure.

124. Seated male figure (ht. 7½″).

125. Male figure (ht. 1′ 1″) with seven smaller ones. Horse on pedestal.

126. Statuette (ht. 1′ 10″) of Mārīcī (Vajra-varāhī) with six arms and three heads, one head being that of a boar. Figurine of Dhyāni-buddha in head-dress. Seven boars on pedestal. Two worshippers. (See above p. 87.)

127. Female figure (ht. 1′ 6″) with ornamental tiara. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

128. Female figure (ht. 9″) probably attendant of some deity.

129. Figure (ht. 1′ 5″) of goddess seated on a lotus and holding a lotus in her hand. Dhyāni-buddha figurine in head-dress and goose on pedestal. Two fragments. North-east of U. (See above, p. 85.)

130. Relief (ht. 1′ 6″) containing three four-armed figures, two male and one female, seated on lotus-thrones, with four kneeling figurines beneath. The three seated figures each hold a rosary and a lotus-flower, whilst two hands are joined before the breast in adoration (*namaskāra*). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa. (See above p. 87.)

131. Statuette (ht. 1′ 10″) of Tārā seated on a lotus seat and holding a blue lotus flower (*utpala*) in her left hand. Right hand in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*). A kneeling figure beneath. An attendant to Tārā's left and two flying figures above. North-east of V. (See above, p. 85.)

132. Statue (ht. 4′ 8″) of Tārā, profusely decorated. Standing on a lotus. Both arms broken below elbow. Two female attendants. Dhyāni-buddha in head-dress. North of Dhamek stūpa. (See above, p. 86.)

133. Bust (ht. 1′ 7″) of four-headed female figure, profusely decorated. Four figurines of Dhyānibuddhas in head-dress over central head. South-west of Shrine. (See p. 88.)

134. Statuette (ht. 1′ 2″) of Sarasvatī playing the guitar.

135. Torso (ht. 8″) of female figure.

136. Statuette (ht. 1′ 3″) of Tārā with halo and lotus-stalk. Inscription XXXVIII in 10 lines; Buddhist creed. Eighth century. South-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

137. Corpulent figure (ht. 2′ 9″) seated, probably Atlant (yakṣa). Head and arms missing. North-east of Shrine.

138. Pedestal (ht. 7″) with portion of female figure.

139. Figure (ht. 3′ 6″) of goddess standing with vessel in left hand. Traces of paint. South-east of U.

140. Pedestal (ht. 6″) with portion of figure of Pārvatī with Gaṇeśa, the bull Nandi, and an attendant.

141. Figure (ht. 4′ 1″) of Avalokiteśvara (?) seated cross-legged, holding a bowl before the breast. Dhyāni-buddha on head and male and female figure standing on shoulders. South-east of Aśoka column. (See above, p. 82.)

142. Figure (ht. 2′ 11″) similar to No. 141. South-east of Aśoka column.

143. Figure (ht. 4′) similar to No. 141. South-east of Aśoka column.

144. Fragment (ht. 1′ 4″) of Mārīcī statuette. Two boar-headed attendants. Seven boars on pedestal. South-east of Shrine. (See above, p. 88.)

145-146. Fragments (ht. 6″ and 11″) of torso of female figure, profusely decorated. North of V and west of Shrine respectively.

147. Head (ht. 11″) of female figure.

148. Torso (ht. 9″) of a figure. South-west of Shrine.

149. Lower portion (ht. 2′ 4″) of standing figure with kneeling figure at the side. South-east of Shrine.

150. Fragment (ht. 10″) of a figure seated cross-legged on a lotus. South-east of Shrine.

151. Lower portion of relief with female (?) figure standing on lotus between two attendants, one seated holding thunderbolt (*vajra*) and the other standing holding an umbrella. Inscription XXVI to figure's right. East of excavations, near edge of metalled road.

152. Torso (ht. 10″) of a Bodhisattva figure adorned with ornaments seated in the preaching attitude (*dharmacakra-mudrā*).

153. Figure (ht. 1′ 7″) of Gaṇeśa, defaced.

154. Two female figures (ht. 2½″) seated on a lotus flower; south-east of Shrine.

155. Fragment (ht. 11″) of an ornamental halo with two flying figures (Gandharva and Apsaras?) in relief.

156. Fragment (width 1′ 6″) of a sculpture with 53 Buddha figurines arranged in four lines. North-west of V.

157. Sculpture (width 1′ 3″, ht. 9½″) with fifty Buddha figurines arranged in four lines. North-west of V.

158. Sculpture (width 2′ 3″) with a row of twenty-six Buddha figurines in front, five on each side, a bed and sacrificial implements beneath. North-west corner of V.

159. Sculpture (width 1′ 5″) with four rows of fifteen Buddha figurines. North-west corner of V.

160. Fragment (ht. 6½″) of bas-relief. The central figure, which must have been Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree, is missing. Over it death-scene. To its right birth-scene (partly missing), first sermon, etc. (See above, p. 84.)

161. Fragment (ht. 5½″) of a sculpture.

162. Lotus-flower (ht. 9½″) probably part of a halo. South-west of umbrella-post No. 6.

163. Fragment (ht. 5½″) of a carved halo.

164. Fragment (ht. 1′ 3″) of a sculpture with Buddha figure in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) and two attendants under a trefoiled arch. South-east of Shrine.

165. Fragment (ht. 2′ 3″) with Buddha figure in preaching attitude (*dharmacakra-mudrā*).

166. Bas-relief (ht. 1′ 2½″) with headless Buddha figure, standing in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*), between two attendants holding fly-whisk (*cāmara*) and umbrella. Inscription XIX. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

167. Sculpture (width 2′ 2″) with seven miniature stūpas in relief. Inscription XXXVII. Buddhist creed.

168. Lower portion (ht. 1′ 1″) of female figure. South-east of umbrella-post No. 6.

169. Fragment (ht. 6½″) of a halo with a flying figure carrying a garland.

170-176. Fragments of sculptures of various sizes, found at different places.

177. Fragment of sculpture. North-west of U.

178. Fragment of sculpture. South-east of Shrine.

179. Figurine (ht. 1′) kneeling in the attitude of adoration (*namaskāra*), perhaps belonging to a halo.

180. Bas-relief (ht. 1′ 3″) representing death scene or *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha.

181-189. Fragments of sculptures.

190. Stele with two Atlantes.

191. Two fragments of figure of Avalokiteśvara.

192. Fragment (ht. 6″) of a sculpture with the bust of a *kiṁnara* figure.

193. Sculpture (width 1′ 5″) with four rows of fifteen Buddha figurines. North-east of V.

194. Sculpture (width 1′ 9″) with one row of Buddha figurines, twenty in front and three on one side. North of V.

195. Sculpture (1′ 3″ square; ht. 3″) with a row of forty Buddha figurines and stars at the corners.

196. Sculpture (width 1′ 9″) with four rows of Buddha figurines. North of V.

197-203. Buddha heads. No. 197 north of U. No. 198 north-west of umbrella-post.

204. Head of female figure. South of Shrine.

205. Head of Avalokiteśvara image.

206. Head of lion.

207. Fragment (ht. 1′ 3″) of colossal head with ornamental halo.

208. Buddha head.

209. Buddha head. Inside Shrine.

210. Buddha head. South of Shrine.

211. Bodhisattva head. South-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

212-213. Buddha heads.

214. Buddha head. North of Shrine.

215. Buddha head. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

216. Head of goddess. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

217. Fragment (ht. 1′ 4″) of an attendant figure. South-east corner of Shrine.

218-219. Fragments of sculpture.

220. Fragment of sculpture. East of Shrine.

221. Fragment of sculpture. North-east of Shrine.

222. Fragment showing paws of lion supported by flying figure. North-west of Shrine.

223. Torso (ht. 1′ 2″) of Buddha figure.

224. Torso (ht. 1′ 1″) of Buddha figure. South of V.

225. Fragment. (ht. 1′ 2″) of female figure. Inscription XXX.

226. Fragment (ht. 8″) of sculpture showing two female figures, one holding an umbrella.

227. Lower portion (ht. 6″) of seated Buddha. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

228-229. Fragments of figures.

230. Fragment of figure. South of Shrine.

231. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 10″) being lower half of a stele with "the four great scenes," of which two are missing. Lower panel: Birth of Buddha in the Lumbinī garden near Kapilavastu. In centre Māyā holding a branch of the *Śāla* tree and attended by her sister Prajāpati to her left and the gods Brahmā and Indra to her right. Flying deities above. Upper panel: Māra's attack at the moment of the *Bodhi*. Māra holds a bow; his daughters to the left of Buddha. The two missing panels must have represented the first sermon and the death. North-east of Shrine. (See above, p. 83.)

232. Fragment (ht. 7″) of a sculpture.

233-235. Fragments of sculptures. North-east of Shrine.

236. Fragment of sculpture.

237. Hand (ht. 10″) holding a conch-shell. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

238. Fragment (ht. 1′ 2″) showing a flying figure with a garland. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

239-240. Fragments of halos. North-west of Shrine.

241-256. Fragments of figures of various sizes found at different places.

256-264. Fragments of various sizes.

265. Fragment of a hand. Inscription XXI. Buddhist creed. (See page 90 above)

266. Fragment of an ornamental halo.

267. Fragment. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

268. Fragment. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

269. Fragment (ht. 3′ 5″) showing lion and rider. Legs and upper jaw missing. Of the rider only one leg and part of the left arm remain. North of Jagat Singh stūpa

270. Torso (ht. 1′ 7″) of standing Buddha image. North-west of stūpa T.

271. Feet (width 1′ 5″) of a standing Buddha image. North-west of stūpa T.

272. Pedestal (width 1′ 6″) of a statue.

273. Fragment (ht. 9″) of sculpture with standing Buddha figure. In ruin V.

274. Fragment (ht. 8″) of a sculpture.

275. Figure (ht. 3′ 1″) of lion; head and legs lost. (Cf. No. 269.) South-east of U.

276. Slab (9″ × 6½″ × 4″) with inscription XXXIII. East of V. Buddhist creed.

277. Fragment (1′ 3″ × 10½″) of slab with inscription XXXII.

278. Hand (ht. 6″) of a statue of red sandstone. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

279-280. Two fragments with inscription XII.

281. Pedestal (width 6″) with inscription XVI. North-west of Shrine.

282. Fragment (10″ × 7½″) of slab with inscription XXVII.

283. Fragment of slab with inscription XXIX.

284. Plain stone (ht. 3′ 9″) with inscription XXXVII. South-east of Shrine.

285. Fragment (width 9″) of a plain stone with inscription XXV. North-east of Shrine.

286. Fragment (5½″ × 2½″) of a slab with inscription XXIII.

287. Upper portion (7″) of statuette of Buddha with umbrella over head.

288. Upper portion (width 6″) of Buddha image in teaching attitude. On back inscription of Buddhist creed. South of Jagat Singh stūpa.

289. Fragment (width 7″) of a headless female figure seated on a lotus-flower. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

290. Male figure (width 7″) with fly-whisk in its right hand. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

291. Standing male figure (width 6″). North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

292. Figure (width 8″) of Buddha standing in reassuring attitude. North of stūpa T.

293-294. Male figures (widths 5½″ and 8″) carrying garlands. North of stūpa T.

295. Female figure (width 7″) standing in reassuring attitude. North of stūpa T.

296. Figure (ht. 7″) of Buddha standing in reassuring attitude. Head lost. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

297. Figure (ht. 7″) of Buddha standing. Head and left hand lost. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

298. Upper portion (ht. 8″) of figure holding lotus in left hand. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

299. Headless figure (ht. 8″) seated with folded hands with traces of two other figures to right and left. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

300. Fragment (ht. 6″) showing mother and child. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

301. Figure (ht. 6″) of Buddha standing, defaced. Perhaps portion of halo. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

302. Portion (ht. 8″) of halo. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

303. Portion (ht. 6″) of Buddha figure in teaching attitude broken above waist. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

304. Fragment (ht. 10″) of a sculpture in blue stone with traces of female figure. Near temple east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

305. Fragment (ht. 6″) of figure seated on a lion. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

306. Fragment (ht. 5″) of female figure with folded hands.

307. Lotus-flower (ht. 5″) of blue stone. East of Shrine.

308. Fragment (ht. 9″) of a halo. South of Shrine.

309. Fragment (ht. 8″) of a halo with two figures. South of Shrine.

310-323. Small fragments of various sizes belonging to Buddha and other figures. Between Jagat Singh stūpa and Shrine.

324-358. Hands of various sizes. Near Shrine and Jagat Singh stūpa.

359-366. Small Buddha heads. Found in various places.

367. Fragment (ht. 9½") of bas-relief with Buddha head. In Shrine.

368. Breast and hand (ht. 5") of female figure. South of Shrine.

369. Head (ht. 6") of a figure. South of Shrine.

370. Fragment (ht. 6") of a halo. East of Shrine.

371. Fragment (ht. 5½") of a head with smooth hair. Débris of previous excavation near Museum.

372. Head (ht. 4½") of grotesque figure. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

373. Small fragments, forty-four in number.

374. Miniature stūpa (ht. 6") with Buddha figures on the four sides. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

375. Miniature stūpa (ht. 1′ 1") with four Buddha figures. On base inscription XXXV.

376. Miniature stūpa (ht. 1′ 8") with Buddha figures in the preaching attitude on the four sides. In front obliterated inscription XXXVI. South-west of U.

377. Votive stūpa (ht. 3′ 9") with eight Buddha figures in relief, four seated and four standing in various postures. South-east of Shrine.

378. Miniature stūpa (ht. 1′ 1½") on lotus with Buddha seated in a chair in the preaching attitude. West of Shrine.

379. Miniature stūpa (ht. 1′ 1"). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

380. Miniature stūpa (ht. 1′ 5") with four Buddha figures. In V.

381. Votive stūpa (ht. 1′ 6") with four Buddha figures and rows of Buddha figurines. In ruin V.

382. Base (ht. 9") of a votive stūpa. On one side Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. In ruin V.

383. Votive stūpa (ht. 2′) with four Buddha figures. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

384. Votive stūpa (ht. 1′ 5") with eight faces and Inscription XXXIX in front. South of Shrine.

385. Miniature stūpa (ht. 2′ 4") with four figures in relief, *viz.*, Buddha, Tārā, and the two Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi and Mañjuśri. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

386. Half of votive stūpa (ht. 1′ 9"). East of Shrine.

387. Votive stūpa (ht. 2") half split. South of Shrine.

388. Votive stūpa (ht. 2′). South-east of Shrine.

389. Dome (ht. 7") of a votive stūpa. West of U.

390. Votive stūpa (ht. 1′ 3"). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

391. Votive stūpa (ht. 2′). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

392. Votive stūpa (ht. 1′ 9"). North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

393. Base (1′ 3" square, ht. 10") of a stūpa decorated with stars at the four corners. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

394. Votive stūpa (1′ 2" square, ht. 3′ 5").

395. Base of a stūpa (1′ 2" square, ht. 6").

396. Plinth of stūpa (1′ 1" square, ht. 1′ 8") with Buddha figures on three sides. South-west of Shrine.

397. Fragment of ornamental lintel (width 2′ 4½") with goose decoration. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

398. Base (ht. 11") of a small column.

399. Ornamental band (width 7").

400. Fragment of a post (ht. 8") with a figure holding a lotus.

401. Fragment (width 8") of an *amalaka* stone.

402. Fragment (ht. 9″) of an ornamental panel.

403. Abacus (8″ square) of a column.

404. Abacus (8″ square) of a column. North-east of Shrine.

405. Fragment of a pediment (ht. 10″) in red sandstone.

406. Lower portion (ht. 1′ 10″) of a column. South-east of V.

407. Fragment (1′ 3″) of a rail-post. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

408. Bas-relief (width 3′ 5″) containing panel with stūpa worshipped by elephant and *kiṁnara*. South-east of Shrine.

409. Two fragments (ht. 1′ 5″) ornamented with scroll-work. South-east of Shrine.

410. Fragment (ht. 1′ 2″) decorated with scroll-work and lion's head. South-east of Shrine.

411. Lotus-flower (ht. 3″). West of Shrine.

412. Fragment (ht. 10″) belonging to a cornice.

413. Fragment (ht. 11″) of cornice. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

414-415. Fragments decorated with scroll-work and foliated ornament.

416. Amalaka stone (diameter 10″). In temple north-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

417. Fragment of lintel (width 1′ 2″) with two pairs of flying figures carrying a diadem. East of Jagat Singh stūpa.

418. Fragment (ht. 7½″) of a shaft decorated with scroll-work.

419. Capital (width 10½″) of column, with grotesque masks on four sides. In centre of Shrine.

420. Pediment (ht. 1′) in green stone with figure of preaching Buddha in relief. South-west of Shrine.

421. Pediment (ht. 1′) with Buddha figure in earth-touching attitude. South-west of Shrine.

422. Abacus of column (1′ 1½″ square, ht. 6″) decorated with scroll-work.

423. Fragment (ht. 1′) of cornice. South-east of Shrine.

424. Bell (1′ 1″ square, ht. 1′ 2½″) of a capital. In Shrine.

425. Carved stone (width 1′ 2½″) belonging to the facing of building. North-east of Shrine.

426. Capital (1′ 2″ square, ht. 8″) of an octagonal column.

427. Fragment (ht. 1′ 5″) of building decoration. East of Shrine. (See above p. 89.)

428. Fragment (ht. 2′) of an ornamental pilaster.

429. Capital (1′ 3″ square, ht. 9″) of a column. In Shrine.

430. Fragment (ht. 2′ 4″) of a shaft. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

431. Carved stone (ht. 2′ 3″) belonging to the spire of a temple. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

432. Carved stone (width 2′) with floral ornamentation. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.

433. Carved stone (width 2′ 6″) with floral ornamentation.

434. Base (ht. 10½″) of a column. North-east of V.

435. Niche (ht. 1′ 7″) of a statue. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.

436. Ornamental lintel (width 5′). South of Aśoka column.

437. Fragment (width 2′ 3″) of sculpture for face-work ornamented with garlands. North-east of umbrella-post, No. 6.

438. Fragment (ht. 10″) of a shaft. Inside Jagat Singh stūpa.

439. Fragment (ht. 8″) of sculpture.

440. Carved stone (width 4′ 3″) for face ornamentation with grotesque mask and two garland-carrying geese. South of Shrine.

441. Carved stone (width 4′) for face-work. East of Shrine.

442. Sculpture (width 2′ 6″) for face work. South-west of Shrine.

443. Fragment (9″ square, ht. 2′ 6″) of a shaft. South-west of Shrine.

444. Capital (1′ 1″ square, ht. 4″) of column. South-west of Shrine.
445. Capital (1′ 2″ square, ht. 9″) of column. West of Shrine.
446. Ornamental sculpture (width 3′) belonging to a cornice.
447. A round column (6″ diameter, ht. 4′). West of Shrine.
448. Round column (6″ diameter, ht. 3″), presumably umbrella-post. West of Shrine.
449. Fragment (ht. 2′) of a shaft. South of Aśoka pillar.
450. Carved stone (ht. 2′ 6″) for face decoration with square flowers. North of U.
451. Shaft (ht. 4′ 4″) of a column. East of V.
452. Sculpture (width 3′ 6″) for face-work. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
453. Sculpture (width 3′ 6″) for face-work. East of Shrine.
454. Sculpture (width 4′ 3″) for face-work. South-east of Shrine.
455. Column (ht. 4′ 3″). South-west of Shrine.
456. Pediment (ht. 1′ 6″) with Buddha figure. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
457-458. Pediments (ht. 1′ 6″) for face-work. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
459. Ornamental capital (1′ 8″ square, ht. 7″). In Shrine.
460. Broken capital (ht. 7″) of square pillar. In Shrine.
461. Fragment (1′ square, ht. 1′ 11″) of column. South-west of Shrine.
462. Plinth (1′ 1″ square, ht. 1′ 6″) of a stūpa. South-west of Shrine.
463. Fragment (9″ square, ht. 2′ 8″) of column. South-west of Shrine.
464. Capital ? (width 2′ 10″) with seated Buddha figure on three sides. Buddha's death-scene on the fourth side and figures of devotees on the remaining two sides. At east entrance of Shrine. (See above, p. 85.)
465. Capital ? (width 2′ 10″) with Buddha figures on four sides and devotees on two. At east entrance of Shrine. (See above, p. 85.)
466. Facing stone (width 3′ 8″) with seven seated Buddha figures. North-east of Shrine. *In situ.*
467. Facing stone (width 2′ 6″) with figure of a lion and two flying figures carrying lotus flowers. North-west of Jagat Singh stūpa.
468. Umbrella (4′ 6″ diameter). West of Jagat Singh stūpa.
469. Fragment (width 8″) of a sculpture representing a lion and a devotee carried by two figures. North-east of Jagat Singh stūpa.
470. Fragment (width 9″) decorated with scroll-work. North of Jagat Singh stūpa.

Sculptures found at Chaukhaṇḍi.

471. Bas-relief (ht. 2′ 1″) representing Avalokiteśvara with Amitābha in head-dress and kneeling female figure. (See above, p. 82.)
472. Bas-relief (ht. 2′ 1″) representing Maitreya (?). (See above, p. 82.)
473. Statue (ht. 3′ 4″) of Buddha preaching.
474-475. Two bas-reliefs (ht. 3′) representing leogryph and two gladiators. (See above, p. 88.)
476. Halo (diameter 1′ 2″) defaced.

APPENDIX B.

List of Minor Objects.

a. Bronze tripod (ht. 2½″) for sacrificial conch-shell.
b. Upper member (15″ × 2″) of grinding-stone. North-east of Shrine.
c. Four plain bricks (19″ × 9″ × 3½″). West of Jagat Singh stūpa.
d. Four plain bricks (14½″ × 8½″ × 2¾″). Jagat Singh stūpa.
e. Six plain bricks (14″ × 8½″ × 2¾″). Jagat Singh stūpa.

f. One plain brick ($12'' \times 8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$). Jagat Singh stūpa.

g. One triangular brick ($15'' \times 8'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$). One side broken. South-east of Shrine.

h. Terra-cotta bases and capitals of various sizes.

i. Carved brick ($17'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$). North of Shrine.

j. Terra-cotta torso (width 10") of seated Buddha figure with attendant standing to left. Inside Jagat Singh stūpa.

k. Terra-cotta figure (ht. 9") of Buddha seated in preaching attitude. Head lost. North-east of Shrine.

l. Terra-cotta figurine (ht. 9") standing in ornamental panel. North-east of Shrine.

m. Terra-cotta figure (ht. 6") of Buddha seated in preaching attitude. North-east of Shrine.

n. Earthen-ware potter's tool ($13\frac{1}{2}''$ at base). North-east of Shrine.

o. Miniature stūpa, one over another, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ at base. North-east of Shrine.

p. Stūpa in lime plaster (diameter 12"). North-east of Shrine.

q. Ornamental fragments in lime plaster.

r. Head (ht. 8") of a figure in lime plaster. North-east of Shrine.

s. Miniature model (ht. 3") of stūpa of clay broken at bottom. Pinnacle missing.

t. Miniature model (ht. $1\frac{1}{2}''$) of stūpa of terra-cotta. Top missing. In base circular seal impression ($\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter) with Buddhist creed in five lines; character, ninth century.

u. Miniature model (ht. 1") of stūpa of terra-cotta. Broken at bottom, top missing. In base oblong tablet with inscription in five lines (Buddhist creed ?).

v. Clay tablet (ht. $1\frac{5}{16}''$) with seal impression showing wheel-and-deer symbol over inscription in two lines mostly defaced. (Cf. above, p. 87.) Found in débris heap cleared away for Museum extension.

w. Circular clay tablet ($\frac{15}{16}''$ in diameter) inscribed with Buddhist creed in five lines; character, ninth century. Found in débris heap on site of Museum.

x. Circular clay tablet ($\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter) inscribed with Buddhist creed (?) in five lines; character, ninth century. Found in débris heap on site of Museum.

y. Oblong clay tablet (ht. $\frac{5}{8}''$) inscribed with wheel-and-deer symbol over inscription in one line :—*Śrī-Gupta-siṁhasya,* character fifth or sixth century. String marks on back. Found in Shrine mound.

z. Stone tablet ($2\frac{7}{8}'' \times 2\frac{3}{16}''$) with circular depression in centre and eight leaves scratched around.

APPENDIX C.

List of Inscriptions.

Maurya period.

I. Fragmentary pillar edict of Aśoka (List of sculptures No. 1). Cf. above, p. 69.

II. III, IV. Votive inscriptions on pillars of railing (Sculpture list No. 2). Cf. above, p. 66.

V. Votive inscription on pillar of railing round stūpa (Sculpture list No. 4.) Cf. above, p. 67.

Kuṣaṇa period.

VI. Inscriptions on Bodhisattva statue (Sculpture list No. 5.) Third year of Kaniṣka. Cf. above, p. 78.

VII. Inscription on umbrella-post (Sculpture list No. 6). Third year of Kaniṣka. Cf. above, p. 80.

VIII. Additional inscription on Aśoka column (Sculpture list No. 1). Reign of Asvaghoṣa, the fortieth year. (Kuṣaṇa era?) Cf. above, p. 70.

IX. Incomplete inscription on fragment of slab (Sculpture list No. 8). Reign of Aśvaghoṣa.

Gupta period.

X. Additional inscription on Aśoka column (List No. 1). Fourth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 70.

XI. (*a* and *b*). Additional inscriptions on railing pillar (Sculpture list No. 3). Cf. above, p 66.

XII. Incomplete inscription on two fragments of slab (Sculpture list No. 279). Characters fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 94.

XIII. Votive inscription on detached base of image (List No. 30). Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 89.

XIV. Votive inscription on detached base of image (List No. 21). Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 89.

XV. Votive inscription on detached base of image (List No. 22). Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 89.

XVI. Votive inscription on detached base of image (List No. 281). Fifth century A.D.

XVII. Votive inscription on base of Buddha (?) image (List No. 50). Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 90.

XVIII. Votive inscription on base of Bodhisattva image (List No. 119). Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 81.

XIX. Inscription on base of Buddha statuette (List No. 166). Five lines, mostly obliterated.

XX. Inscription on back of Buddha statuette (List No. 114). Two lines of 8″, Buddhist creed. Fifth century A.D.

XXI. Inscription on detached hand of image (List No. 265). Four lines. Buddhist creed. Fifth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 90.

XXII. Votive inscription on seated Buddha image (List No. 28). Sixth century A.D. Cf. above, p. 81.

XXIII. Incomplete inscription on fragment of slab (List No. 286). Two lines of 4″. In upper line the word *kumareśasya*. Sixth century A.D.

Seventh to Twelfth Century A.D.

XXIV. Inscription on back of Bodhisattva image (List No. 120). Two lines of 13⅝″. Buddhist creed. Seventh century A.D.

XXV. Incomplete inscription on two fragments of a slab (List No. 285). Portions of six lines. Buddhist creed, eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXVI. Incomplete inscription on fragment of bas-relief (List No. 151). One line of 7″. Buddhist creed. Eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXVII. Incomplete inscription on fragment of slab (List No. 282). One line of 7″. Buddhist creed. Eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXVIII. Incomplete inscription on two sides of Buddha statuette (List No. 88). Buddhist creed. Eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXIX. Incomplete inscription on fragment of plain slab (List No. 283). Portions of two lines. Buddhist creed. Eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXX. Incomplete inscription on fragment of female figure (List No. 225). Four letters *mātāśrilī*. Ninth century A.D.

XXXI. Inscription on plain slab. Four lines of 7.″ Buddhist creed. Eighth or ninth century A.D.

XXXII. Inscription on fragment of slab (List No. 277). Portions of nine lines, mostly obliterated. Ninth century A.D.

XXXIII. Inscription on plain slab (List No. 276). Five lines 6¾″ long. Buddhist creed, *stūpa* and mystic syllables. Ninth or tenth century A.D.

XXXIV. Inscription on back of seated image. Two lines 6¼″ long. Buddhist creed.

XXXV. Inscription on Votive stūpa (List No. 375). Four lines of 5½.″ Buddhist creed.

XXXVI. Inscription on Votive stūpa (No. 376). Four lines, third and fourth 6¾″. Ninth century.

XXXVII. Inscription on fragment of a slab (List No. 167). With row of seven stūpas, on which the inscription runs in one line. Buddhist creed. Ninth century.

XXXVIII. Inscription on statuette of goddess (List No. 136). In ten lines. Buddhist creed. Eighth century A.D.

XXXIX. Incomplete inscription on Votive stūpa (List No. 384). Buddhist creed. Only last five letters preserved. Ninth century A.D.

XL. Incomplete inscription on base of image (List No. 31). Two lines 4″ long.

XLI. Inscription on architectural stone. Three lines, 9″, 8½,″ and 1½″ long.

F. O. OERTEL.

A NEW TYPE OF POTTERY FROM BALUCHISTAN.

THE small collection of vases, of which I am here publishing some selected specimens, derive some considerable interest from the fact that, as far as is at present known, they are quite unique of their kind. They were obtained about a year ago through the instrumentality of Mr. Hughes Buller, I.C.S., from a mound[1] near the little village of *Nāl* situated in the Jhalawān district of the Kalāt State, approximately in lat. 27° 40′ and long. 66° 14′.[2] A few of the vases had been found quite accidentally by peasants from Nāl digging earth for their fields, and were recovered from them by the Gazetteer official on the spot, Mirza Sher Muhammad, who afterwards, with the permission of the chief of the Bizanjo tribe, had a small excavation made in the side of the mound, and procured as many other specimens as he could, without unduly exciting the inquisitiveness of the peasants. The *Sohr damb* mound, in which the pottery was unearthed, lies actually at a distance of 1½ miles north-east of Nāl village, in an alluvial plain adjoining the skirts of the hills. It is of clay, strewn with pieces of pottery and burnt bricks. Actual measurements of the mound were not taken on the spot, but Mirza Sher Muhammad states that, so far as he can recollect, its height above the surrounding country was about 30 feet and its diameter about 50 feet, and that the pottery was discovered about 5 feet from the ground level. There are five other mounds of the same description within a radius of about 150 yards from the *Sohr damb*. Several other mounds, some of which look like the ruins of old mud forts, lie in the Nāl valley within a distance of five miles, the principal among which are the Khāyān, Tāzi Karkakān and Teghā dambs.[3] No other antiquities of any sort were found along with the pottery, nor was there anything about the mound itself which could afford a clue to its origin or date.

I must state at the outset, before describing the pottery, that I have not, myself, had an opportunity of examining the whole of it. The collection consists of 59 pieces in all, and only a representative selection of these could be sent to me at Simla. I have had, however, the advantage of seeing photographs of practically all the other pieces of any interest, besides coloured illustrations of a dozen of them. For these last I am

[1] The mound is known locally as *Sohr damb* (red mound) from the colour of the clay.

[2] The nearest place of importance is Khuzadār, the head-quarters of the Native Assistant of Jhalawān, about 28 miles north-east of Nāl. The distance from Quetta to Kalāt is about 90 miles, and thence to Khuzdār about 100 miles.

[3] For the above local information I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. A. Brett, I.C.S., of the Gazetteer staff.

greatly indebted to Mrs. O'Hara of Quetta, whose kindness has enabled me to present with this article the chromo-lithograph on Plate XXXIII.

All the vases are wheel-made, and for the most part resemble each other very closely in fabric and decoration. The clay is of fine texture, mostly light red in colour. Laid over this and covering either the whole or part of the vase is a slip varying in colour from pale greenish buff to light brown, on which the main designs are worked in dark sepia filled in with red or yellow or, in one or two instances, blue. As is natural in wheel-made fabrics, the designs are disposed for the most part in horizontal bands, but perpendicular divisions like those in Plate XXXIII, no. 8, are not infrequent. In some cases a simple ornament is worked on the clay in relief and without painting, as in Plate XXXIII, fig. 6, or this method of decoration is combined with pigments, as in Plate XXXIII, figs. 8 and 10, where the circles between the panels are really shallow bosses, suggestive of the human breast—a device not at all uncommon in primitive wares.

As regards shapes, most of the vases are of the cup or bowl form, with straight or curved sides, and with more or less open mouths, those with the narrower apertures being similar to the modern *lotas*. A development of the cup is to be seen in the low jars shown in Plate XXXIV, 10 and 11, which no doubt originally possessed lids. A more unusual shape is the elegant little bowl (Plate XXXIII, fig. 5) with the lip pinched in to form spouts, as if for a *chiragh* or lamp. The piece figured in Plate XXXIV, no. 13, is a stand for a bowl, but the rim at the top has, unfortunately, been broken away. None, it may be noticed, of these vases possess handles.

As is generally the case with primitive ceramic wares, the main interest of this pottery centres in its decorative motifs. The simplest of these are quite elementary geometric forms, like the chevrons in Plate XXXIII, figs. 4, 7, 9 and 11, and the diamond-shaped lozenges in Plate XXXIV, fig. 12. An advance on these is seen in the foliate designs of Plate XXXIII, figs. 1 and 2, and Plate XXXIV, figs. 8, 11 and 13—a motif which may, also, perhaps be recognised in the left-hand panel of Plate XXXIII, fig. 8, though here it might also be intended to suggest roughly the head of an animal. But most characteristic and distinctive of all, are the schemes of circles and intermediate panels in Plate XXXIII, figs. 8 and 10, and Plate XXXIV, figs. 9 and 14, and the rows of *O*-mega like figures in Plate XXXIII, nos. 7, 9 and 10, and Plate XXXIV, nos. 6, 7, 9 and 10. So far, I have not been able to find parallels to either of these motifs among the wares of India or any other country whose influence might conceivably have been felt in Baluchistan; and despite their peculiar distinctiveness, therefore, these motifs fail at present to assist us in tracing the origin of these wares. That the fabrics are of Indian, or semi-Indian, manufacture, seems probable from the presence of the familar humped bull on Plate XXXIII, fig. 3; and that they date back to a period before the Christian era seems likely in view of the fact that nothing at all like them is known to have come from any of the Buddhist sites in Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. To surmise more than this before other evidence is available, would be mere waste of time. It can only be hoped that the present publication may perchance lead to the discovery of some analogous wares, which are not known to us in India, or that when the time comes for the further exploration of the mound where they were found, we may unearth some other class of antiquities which will throw light upon their origin and their date.

J. H. MARSHALL.



1



2



3



4



5



6



8



9



7



10



11














1


2


3


4


5


6


7


9


8


10


11


12


13


14

INSCRIBED BRASS STATUETTE FROM FATEHPUR (KANGRA).

THE brass Buddhist statuette shown on Plate XXXV was first noticed by Pandit Hirananda in a *dharmsālā* at Fatehpur (Fattehpoor of the map), a village 20 miles due west of Kāngṛā-Kōṭ. It was subsequently purchased for the Lahore Museum.

The image, including the pedestal, is 30 cm. high and 13.5 cm. wide across the knees, and represents a Buddha seated cross-legged on an ornamental cushion, with the soles of his feet turned upward, and holding his hands before his breast. The thumb and index finger of the right hand, the palm of which is turned to the front, are joined and touch the little finger of the left hand. This gesture is one of the conventional attitudes (*mudrās*) of the Buddha and expresses the expounding of the sacred law (*dharmacakra-mudrā*). The left hand holds, at the same time, the hem of the robe which leaves the right shoulder bare. This combination of drapery and attitude is typical of the art of Gandhāra. The lobes of the ear are prolonged; the left one is broken. The protuberance on the skull (*uṣṇīṣa*) is a well-defined hemispherical knob. The curly hair is indicated by a succession of raised discs, presenting the appearance of a close-fitting cap of mail. At the back, immediately beneath the neck, there projects a knob pierced with a round hole, which evidently was intended to receive a rod, the place where this rod joined the pedestal being marked by an oblong aperture. Presumably this rod was the support to a parasol of precious metal which surmounted the image.

The pedestal is worked *à jour* and profusely decorated. Along its front and sides there runs, immediately beneath the cushion on which the Buddha is seated, an ornamental border of raised dentil-like squares partly inlaid with copper, from which a fringe of alternately globular and bell-shaped pendants seems to hang. At the four corners, this border rests on dwarf pillars (ht. 4 cm.), the front ones being inlaid with silver and red copper. In the centre of the front face is a cross-legged human figure supporting with its two hands the border above described. This figure wears a necklace, bracelets and earrings, whilst from its arms two dove-tail shaped draperies float down. On both sides of this figure there is a dragon-like animal with a long snout, curved horns and small wings at the shoulders, standing on its hind legs and facing outwards. Between this and the corner pillar a seated lion-like animal is shown facing, presumably an indication of the *siṁhāsana* (lion-seat, *i.e.* throne) on which the

Buddha is enthroned. The two sides of the pedestal are decorated with a pair of winged dragons standing face to face, their bodies being interlaced in the middle. The height of all these figurines is the same as that of the corner pillars. A similar pair of dragons, larger in size (ht. 7 cm.), occupies the back of the pedestal. Unfortunately, the lower part of one, from the middle downward, is missing. They are placed between two seated lions, similar to those on the front, but somewhat larger in size (ht. 5½ cm.).

The pedestal is not only remarkable for its fanciful decoration and exquisite workmanship, but also for its resemblance to specimens of Buddhist art abroad. On the one hand there are Lamaistic examples[1] which are clearly derived from Indian models like the one under discussion. These also have in the centre a supporting figure, but the standing dragons and the sitting lions have, as it were, become amalgamated into one pair of rampant lions. At the ends, as well as between these figures, we find dwarf pillars similar to those placed at the corners. On the other hand, a comparison of the Fatehpur statuette with stone sculptures from Gandhāra will lead to interesting conclusions. Dwarf pilasters of Indo-Corinthian style are constantly found enclosing the panel on the front of the pedestals of Græco-Buddhist images.[2] The central figure of such reliefs is usually a Bodhisattva seated cross-legged. I am inclined to think that this is the prototype of the Atlas figure on the Kāṅgrā statuette. The fringed border possibly originates from the *dentil* cornice, not uncommonly found in Gandhāra pedestals.[3]

The statuette now described is cast in brass, but other metals have been freely added in its decoration. The eyes both of the Buddha and of the miniature figures on the pedestal are wrought in silver. The *ūrṇā* on the forehead is of the same metal; and the lips, nipple and finger nails are inlaid in red copper. The seam of the Buddha's robe is indicated along the breast by a band of red copper inlaid with silver, and both the cushion and the front pillars are minutely decorated with these metals. The ornament along the sides of the cushion consisting of geese (*haṁsas*) enclosed in ovals deserves special notice.

The statuette is well preserved except for the breakages noted above and some three small holes in the top of the pedestal. The faces of the Buddha and of the figures on the pedestal are considerably worn owing to the daily application of the *tilaka* during the long period it was worshipped by the Hindūs.

The circumstance that the statuette is inscribed enables us to fix its date approximately as the sixth century A.D. The inscription, in incorrect Sanskrit, is engraved in two lines of 13 cm. on the back of the cushion on which the Buddha is seated. The average size of the letters is 0·3 cm. It runs as follows:—

1. *Om*[4] *Deyadharmo yaṁ kṛtaṁ* (*to*) *mayā Śākyabhikṣuṇa Dharmapṛ*(*pri*)*yena sārdhaṁ*

2. *bh*(*r*)*ātu*(*tṛ*)*-Dharmasiṁghena*[5] *sārdhaṁ ācārya-Dharmasiṁghena. Sārdhaṁ sarvasatva* (*ttvaiḥ*).

---

[1] A. Grünwedel. *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei.* Leipzig, 1900. Figs. 42, 139, 140, 149 and 159.

[2] J. Burgess *J. I. A. I.* VIII, No. 62, pl. V, fig. 3; pl. IX, fig. 1; pl. XVI, fig. 2; pl. XXV, fig. 6.

[3] *Ibidem*, Pl. XIII, figs. 4 and 5.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read *Dharmasiṁhena*.

INSCRIBED BRASS STATUETTE FROM FATHPUR.



a



b

"This pious gift is made by me, the Buddhist friar Dharmapriya, together with (my) brother Dharmasiṁgha, with my preceptor Dharmasiṁgha, with all sentient beings."

Together with the Buddhist image another inscribed brass statuette was recovered, which represents Viṣṇu. Its height, including the pedestal, is 21·6 cm. The god is shown standing between two miniature attendants, one male and another female, with fly-whisks (Sanskrit *cāmara*). He is four-armed. Two hands rest on the haloes of his attendants, the other two hold a lotus flower (*padma*) and a conch (*śaṅkha*). He wears a diadem (*kirīṭa*), long locks, a brahmanical thread, a long wreath and various ornaments. The eyes and the breast jewel (*kaustubha*) are of silver. Behind his head a circular halo is attached, from the top of which a rosette projects. Between his feet a female figurine (ht. 1·8 cm.) issues half-way from the base, on which its hands rest. Such a figure is often found on Viṣṇu images: it is said to represent Lakṣmī. The faces of the four figures are much worn; for the rest the statuette is entire.

The workmanship of this statuette, though it is well modelled and elegant in shape, is inferior to that of the Buddha image and would point to a later date. This is confirmed by the inscription engraved on the front of the pedestal in lines of 8 cm. The size of the letters is about 0·4 cm. I read it:—

1. *Saṁ 23 J [y] eṣṭha bati 5 pra[ti] ṣ[ṭh]āpita prāśasta devī m[ā]*

2. *ta bhāryā tathā srī-Mahādeva.*

The inscription is dated according to the Saptarṣisaṁvat, so that we can only say that it corresponds to the year 47 of some century of the Christian era.

J. PH. VOGEL.

RUINED TEMPLE IN THE NŪRPUR FORT.

NŪRPUR lies in latitude 32° 18′ 10″ north, and longitude 75° 55′ 30″ east, on the Jabhar Khaḍ, a small tributary of the Chakki torrent which flows into the Biās. It is picturesquely situated on a spur, 2,000 feet above the sea-level, and some twenty-two miles north-west of Kāṅgṛā. It was formerly the capital of a petty hill state ruled by the Paṭhāniyā clan of the Rājpūts. For long it has enjoyed a considerable commercial importance dependent on the manufacture of shawls, and the fact of its being a great rendezvous on the way to Kashmir, Chambā and Ladākh. But now it presents a somewhat depopulated appearance, which has resulted from the collapse of the shawl trade.[1] With the addition of the *tālukās* of Shāhpur and Kaṇḍi Bachertu, now attached to the district of Gurdāspur, and of a small tract across the Rāvī, that was given in exchange to the Rājā of Jammu, the boundaries of the old principality are retained almost entire in the present *taḥṣīl* of Nūrpur.[2]

The old name of the place, as we learn from the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, was Dhameri, the Dal māl of Alberūnī. According to the Āīn-i-Akbarī, Dhameri was a *parganah* of the Bārī Duāb, which yielded 1,600,000 dāms and furnished 60 horse and 1,300 foot. It is not clear what the meaning or the etymology of the word is. Cunningham derived it from Audumbara, but none of the forms that he has given, or which are met with in the works of Alberūnī, Abu-l-Fazl and others, nor the current form Dhameṛi or Dhamer, support his view.

The name of Nūrpur, we learn from the Tuzuk and the Shash Fatḥ-i-Kāṅgṛā, was given to this town in honour of Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the Mughal Emperor of India, when he visited it on his return from Kāṅgṛā.[3] A parallel instance is supplied by the fort at Delhi, the oldest portion of which, *i.e.*, Salīm-gaṛh, was termed Nūr-gaṛh by the Timurean dynasty.[4] Thus the general assumption that this town was so called in honour of Nūrjahān, the celebrated consort of Jahāngīr, should be regarded as erroneous.

The place rose to prominence at the time of the Mughal ascendancy in India. The earlier historians hardly make any mention of it, nor do we find any building of

[1] From the *Punjab Gazetteer*, Kāṅgṛā District, 1883-4, p. 253, it would appear that this collapse was related to the Franco-Prussian War.

[2] *Punjab Gazetteer*, Kāṅgṛā District, p. 36.

[3] Cf. *Shash Fat'h-i Kāṅgṛā* in Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 522.

[4] Cf. *Athāru-ṣ-ṣanādīd* Ch. II. p. 22. (Lucknow Edition.)

NŪRPUR FORT TEMPLE.



GENERAL VIEW OF TEMPLE.

greater antiquity here or in its close neighbourhood. The temple of Śiva or Dhameṛi Mahādeo, said to be the oldest structure in Nūrpur, undoubtedly belongs to the Muhammadan period.

From the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira we learn that in ancient days the district was called Audumbara, probably because of the abundant growth of the *udumbara* tree (*ficus glomerata*) or on account of the ruddy complexion of the inhabitants (from *audumbara*—copper-coloured).[1] This statement is, as Cunningham has already shown,[2] further strengthened by the legends on the coins that were found in the district. They give the name of Audumbara, and, since not a single specimen of them has yet been found elsewhere, that name must have been the name of this tract.

The Paṭhāniyās or Chiefs of Nūrpur claim descent from the Tuār clan of the Rājpūts. The latter were the first historical masters of Delhi, as is still remembered in the popular saying—

Aval Dilli tūrā̃ phir layī cuhāṇā̃,
Phir layī cugattyā̃ kar jor dhagāṇā̃;

which signifies—First Delhi was under the Tuārs. From the Tuārs it passed to the hands of the Chohāns. From the latter it was taken by force of arms by the Mughals.

Tradition says that some enterprising members of this clan came over and settled in this District. Their first settlement seems to have been at a place now known by the name of Paṭhānkoṭ, some sixteen miles to the south of Nūrpur. The word *koṭ* did not originally form part of this name,[3] which was simply Paṭhān or Paiṭhān. This term Paiṭhān was current in the seventeenth century and, as we learn from the Āīn-i-Akbarī and the Bādshāh-nāmah, it designated the whole tract forming a district *parganah* of the Bārī Duāb, which yielded a revenue of 7,297,015 dāms (40 dāms = 1 Akbari rupee) and furnished 250 horse and 2,000 foot. There is another Paiṭhān on the Godāvarī. The ancient name of that town, as is evidenced by the plates of Govinda III,[4] was Pratiṣṭhāna. Thus analogy would lead us to assume that our Paiṭhān also was originally named Pratiṣṭhāna. There was an old fort of Paṭhānkoṭ. But all that remains of it is a mere mound, about 600 feet square and 100 feet high. The other mounds, which formed the site of the original city, and where old coins are often found by the village boys, are now ploughed up and divided into fields.[5] The settlers afterwards were distinguished by the name of their settlement and became known under the appellation of Pratiṣṭhānīya which subsequently changed into Paṭhāniyā. A parallel instance of a dynasty deriving its name from their original residence is supplied by the Rājās of Basohli, now included in Jammu and Kashmir State. Their original capital was Balaur, the Vallāpura of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and they were named Balauriyā after it. Even now, people would distinguish themselves by the name of the cities or towns in which they reside. For instance, residents of Lāhor are called Lahauriyā and those of

---

[1] Cf. Ajaya quoted by Bhānu in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* under *udumbara*.

[2] See *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 116.

[3] Similarly in Kāṅgrā-koṭ and Syāl-koṭ, *koṭ* is a later addition. Cf. Dr. Fleet. *Sagala, Sakala: The city of Milinda and Mihirakula.* (Extrait du tome I des Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes.)

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 103.

[5] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 118.

Amritsar, Amritsariyā. The term Paṭhāniyā or Paṭhān therefore, being of a genuine Hindu origin, has no reference whatsoever to the Paṭhān-Afghāns. Consequently it is erroneous to suppose that the name Paṭhān-koṭ, which simply indicates the *koṭ* or fort of Paṭhān, has been derived from some Paṭhān restorer.

From the succession list given by Cunningham we find that Kīratpāl, a Paṭhāniyā Rājā, was called Rāṇā. This would lead us to assume that the Paṭhāniyā Chiefs held a secondary rank and were probably vassals of their more powerful neighbours the Kings of Trigartta.

The plains being open to incessant attacks, they selected Mau, some six miles to the north of Paṭhān-koṭ, on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki, as a place of seclusion and safety. Here they built a stronghold, which, owing to the dense thorny jungles and hills around it, proved a source of trouble to, and defied the imperial power of Delhi, so much so that an expedition against it was regarded as a call of Death: *Mau-kī muhim yāro maut-kī nishānī hai.* As masters of Paiṭhān and Mau the Paṭhāniyās are first noticed in the beginning of Akbar's reign, when Rājā Bakhtmall is mentioned as a supporter of Sikandar Sūr whom Akbar conquered in A.H. 965. They were called Zamīndārs of Mau and Paṭhān by the Muhammadan chroniclers. Some thirty years later, we hear of Rājā Bāsū, *i.e.*, Vāsudeva, as the reigning Zamīndār of the aforesaid places. He raised the banner of insurrection, but was defeated by Akbar in A.D. 1594-5, and Paṭhān was taken from him. His fight with Akbar forms the theme of a popular song or *bār*, which is still sung by the local bards. He was an able Rājā, and, as is evident from the Tuzuk, on very good terms with Jahāngīr, whom, in every probability, he helped in his machinations against Abu-l-Fazl and others.

He died in A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613), and was succeeded by his son Sūrajmall. The Emperor, though not very pleased with the latter, conferred upon him the title of Rājā, simply calling to mind the services of his father. But his malevolence and seditious temper soon estranged him from the favour of the Emperor, and he broke into open rebellion against the Court of Delhi. But he was defeated in A.D. 1618 and compelled to flee for safety. He found a temporary refuge in one of the Chambā forts and ultimately in the capital of Chambā. Mādho Singh, his younger brother, was also with him. As the Imperial forces were preparing to advance upon Chambā, the news came that he was dead. On receipt of peremptory orders from the Mughal Commander, the Rājā of Chambā surrendered all money and valuables belonging to the deceased Chief and gave up Mādho Singh also. The Emperor in the meanwhile recalled Jagat Singh, the third son of Rājā Bāsū, from Bengal, and installed him in the place of his brother. Jagat Singh was a true soldier. By virtue of his bravery and eminent service he became a favourite of Jahāngīr, who raised him to the command of 3,000 men and 2,000 horse and gave him the title of Rājā as well as a present of 20,000 rupees. Under Shāh Jahān, too, he retained his position, and performed heroic deeds on several occasions. He took the principal part in driving the Persians from Kābul and conquering Zamīn-Dāwar. He was appointed Faujdār of the Upper and Lower Bangash-Kurrum valley and Kohāṭ. He resumed hostilities with Chambā, possibly to revenge the surrender alluded to above. A decisive battle was fought at Dholag, in which he came off victorious, whereafter he

a



b



PARTS OF THE WALLS.

treacherously killed Janārdan, the Rājā of Chambā, and took possession of the state and ruled it for some twenty years. Within the territory of Chambā, he afterwards built the fort of Tārāgaṛh on the summit of an inaccessible hill near the Chambā-Nūrpur Frontier. It is this stronghold which stood him in good stead when he himself was in difficulties.

Elated perhaps by his repeated success, he essayed to measure his strength with that of the Emperor. Trusting to the height of his hills and the impenetrability of the jungles, he broke into rebellion in A.H. 1047, and joined hands with his son, who had, in concert with him, already revolted. The strongholds were fortified, the roads blockaded, and measures taken to insure victory. Notwithstanding all this, his efforts were frustrated by the overwhelming odds of the Imperial army, which attacked him on all sides. A traitorous native of the district showed a path, which on account of its difficult nature was not protected, and the Imperialists marched on Nūrpur. But the Fort being well-manned and commanded by Rājpūts, could not be taken. Then the army turned their attention to Mau, where Jagat Singh, with the best men of his own clan, was ready to receive them. He engaged them in a sharp encounter for five days and killed no less than 1,400 of the foe. His position, however, became untenable, and he abandoned Mau and fled to Tārāgarh, which he had specially fortified with a view to make it an asylum in days of misfortune. Thus the impregnable Mau fell into the hands of the invaders and was devastated. It is now a mere jungle, and has the foundations of brick buildings and a *kaccā* tank as the only remnants of olden times. Shortly after the fall of this stronghold, the defenders of Nūrpur evacuated the fort, and Rājrūp Singh also joined his father.

At this juncture, the Rājā of Chambā, named Pṛthvī Singh, with the help of Maṇḍī and Suket, took the opportunity of driving out of his territory all the officials of Jagat Singh, and recovering his state. Being ordered by Shāh Jahān, he reached the scene of action with his contingent forces to assist in the capture of Tārāgaṛh. Mān Singh, the Rājā of Gwālior, another sworn enemy of Jagat Singh, also joined the Imperialists. Thus hemmed in, and assaulted on every side, the garrison was reduced to great straits, and, by the beginning of March, A.D. 1642, the brave Jagat had to sue for pardon, which was granted, and both the son and the father were restored to their former rank and honour. Soon after this, he rendered excellent service to the Emperor in Qandhār, Badakhshān, and other places. While busy in chastising the Uzbaks, he fell ill and returned to Peshāwar, where he died in January 1646. His praises, and the fight with the Emperor, form the subject of the poem known as the Rhapsodies of Gambhīr Rāi, a work of considerable philological and historical interest, noticed long ago by Mr. J. Beames.[1] These are short songs such as are sung by bards at the feasts and festivals of the princes, and tell of the historical events, with which their hero was connected. For instance:

कीने ऐसे ओर जंग जग में जगत सिंह

. . . .

जिन मखयाला लियो है भूप बीच कियो
भई है खबर देश देश यह बात है

. . . .

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV, 1875, pp. 192-212.

साहन सौं कर रूठ बैठो दैश मऊ माँझ
जगत हलायो एक जगता न हालई ।
सकुचे सराजी सुन सटके समरकंदी
दुनियाँ कौं दौर दुति दोनो है दिल्लीस की
बलख बुखारै न पलक लागै रैन संकत
सिपाहाँ पैं संक सभ भेस की
कहत गंभीर राय राजा वासुदेव सुत
तौ लौं करौ राज जौ लौं माथे मन शेष कौ
खुरी में कंधार लई खुरासान रोर गई
परी है हरेड हई जगता नरेस की ॥

"Jagat Singh fought many battles in the world. He took Makhyālā and placed a king there. This event became known throughout the world. He was displeased with the Shāh, and, sitting at Mau, shook the whole world, but was not shaken himself. Hearing it the people of Sarāj were terrified, and the inhabitants of Samarqand mortified. The fame of the Lord of Delhi spread throughout the world. The residents of Balkh and Bukhārā did not wink even in the night for fear. The soldiers had apprehensions of all sorts. Gambhīr Rāi says, may the son of Rājā Vāsudeva rule the world as long as there is a jewel in the head of Śeṣa. In no time he took Qandhār and conquered Khurāsān, and this news of the victory of Rājā Jagat spread everywhere."

He was succeeded by his son Rājrūp, who also rose to the favour of the Emperor, and was made Rājā and Commander of 1,500 men and 1,000 horse. The fort of Tārāgaṛh, however, was taken from him in the beginning of A.H. 1056 and was henceforth garrisoned by the Imperialists to secure peace.

He is said to have been succeeded by Māndhātā. But the Muhammadan historians make no mention of a person of this name. According to them, the succession passed to Bhāo Singh, another son of Jagat Singh, who turned Muhammadan and received the name of Murīd Khān.[1] That Māndhātā was a historical personage, is evidenced by the poems of Gambhīr Rāi already referred to, for about one-half of the songs were composed by Māndhātā himself.[2] Besides, tradition ascribes to him a temple at Fatehpur, near Nūrpur and a portion of the Nūrpur Fort where his portrait in fresco is still pointed out.[3] He was succeeded in turn by Dayādhātā, Pirthī Singh and Fateh Singh. These Chiefs of Nūrpur flourished when the Mughal power had declined and remained almost undisturbed until the rise of the Sikhs. Forster visited Nūrpur in 1783 and found it in a state of internal quiet, less molested by the Sikhs and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories.[4]

Bīr Singh succeeded Fateh Singh in A.D. 1805, and was the last ruling Chief of Nūrpur. In A.D. 1815, Ranjīt Singh expelled him from his principality, and he fled to Chambā, which was ruled by Charat Singh, his own brother-in-law. There he

[1] His descendants still possess *jāgirs* near Shāhpur in Kāngrā District.

[2] See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 201.

[3] It is a pity that this picture has been now spoiled by the careless custodians of the building, who had it whitewashed to strengthen the edifice !!!

[4] Froster's *Journey from India to England*, Vol. I, p. 270.

raised an army to attempt the recovery of his state, but, being defeated, he sought refuge in British territory across the Sutlej. In A.D. 1826, he returned to his capital in disguise with the hope of regaining his throne. His people recognised him and rallied round him. His efforts were, however, rendered futile, and he was compelled to retire to Chambā. The Rājā of that state gave him up under compulsion, and he was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gobindgaṛh near Amritsar. After seven years of confinement he returned to Chambā, having been ransomed by his brother-in-law for 85,000 rupees. Here, in 1839, Mr. Vigne[1] met him and heard the story of his misfortune from his own lips. The desire to gain independence has always been predominant in the breasts of the Paṭhāniyās and made them ever turbulent and rebellious against the Emperors. The same longing took possession of Bīr Singh once more, and, true to his name, he made another attempt to retake his dominion. But while engaged in this last but vain endeavour he breathed his last in Nūrpur at the gate of the fort in 1846. Shortly after this, when the Punjab passed to the hands of the British, Rām Singh the brave Paṭhāniyā, son of the Wazīr of the last Rājā, raised the standard of rebellion and tried to assert his independence. He was, however, captured, and the insurrection, so widely sung by the local bards, was suppressed by a British force in 1849, when the principality was finally annexed to the British dominions. Government then granted a pension to the son of the last Rājā, and the family became mere Jāgīrdārs of Nūrpur.

As the last and chief stronghold of this warlike tribe, the fort of Nūrpur may be briefly noticed here. It is situated on a precipitous rock, which forms the western end of the spur on which the town is built. Abu-l-Fazl mentions Dhameri, but no fort. From this it would appear that the stronghold had no existence at that time. From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*[2] we learn that it was founded by Rājā Bāsū. When Jahāngīr visited Dhameri on his return from Kāṅgṛā in A.D. 1622, a considerable portion of it had already been constructed; and, being very pleased with the site, the Emperor granted a lakh of rupees from the Imperial Treasury for constructing good mansions worthy of the place. The whole building, however, was not brought to completion by one Chief. The difference in age of the extant portions is clear, and shows that the succeeding Rājās must have made several additions. That Sūrajmall did so, is evidenced by the Tuzuk. The Bādshāh-nāmah bears testimony to Jagat Singh's further fortifying the place when he was fighting against the Emperor. As mentioned above, an edifice in the western end of the fort is said to have been built by Rājā Māndhātā. It goes by the name of Ṭhākurdvārā, a term generally applied to the shrines dedicated to Viṣṇu (*Thākur*=Lord). The image of Kṛṣṇa, called Brajrāj, which it contains, is of black marble and a good piece of workmanship. The appearance of this building is that of an audience hall—*Dīwān-i-'āmm*—and, if it was not intentional to give such a shape to the sanctum, it must have served as such originally.[3] Its main feature is the fresco ornamentation representing scenes in Kṛṣṇa's life and, in one of the spandrels, a Hindu Rājā, probably the founder himself. Three plain rooms of ordinary dimensions to the

[1] Vigne's *Travels in Kashmir*, etc., etc., Vol. I, p. 157.

[2] *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 340.

[3] The Ṭhākur-dvārā at Fatehpur, see above, is also a plain structure without any characteristics of a Hindu temple such as a spire (*śikhara*) or porch (*maṇḍapa*). Perhaps the form was given to conceal the shrine from the iconoclasts.

north of this structure are also used as sanctums. One of them contains an image of Devī, the pedestal of which bears an inscription in Sanskrit and in the Nāgarī alphabet dated Saṁ. 1667 (A.D. 1610). To the south of the Ṭhākurdvārā, there are two miniature temples, which are in a good state of preservation. Two gates to the east, forming the main entrances to the fort, are also extant. The rest, except the portion now used as a School building and Post Office with Public Works Department rest-house, obviously erected after the British conquest, is all in ruins. The fort, along with several other strongholds in the district, was blown up in A.D. 1857.

By far the most interesting building in the fort is the ruined temple that was excavated in 1886 by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor to the Punjab Government. As we learn from his manuscript report for the months May to January 1886, it was merely a mound before excavation and covered with flowers and the *débris* of some British officer's bungalow. A moulded stone, which Mr. Rodgers noticed under these remains, led him to the supposition that the mound contained some ancient building. On excavation, he discovered the basement of a large temple profusely decorated with carving, besides a number of sculptured fragments, which once belonged to its upper portion. The exhumation, however, was not completed, as a later structure was still left masking the north-eastern portion of the base with its mouldings and carvings. In March 1904, at the suggestion of Dr. Vogel, this structure was dismantled by the late Mr. Farley, Executive Engineer, Kāṅgṛā. The space round the temple was also widened out, and thus all the decorative details on the basement were exposed and made accessible to the camera.

This temple is 117 feet long and 50 feet wide externally. It is built of red sandstone and consists of an ante-room (*maṇḍapa*) leading through a central chamber (*antarālaya*) to the sanctuary (*garbhagṛha*) octagonal in plan with recesses at the angles. Its plan does not resemble that of any other shrine in the Punjab, but is very similar to those of the famous temples of Govind dev at Bindrāban and Haridev at Govardhan near Mathurā (Muttra).[1] The main entrance must have been at the south end, though there were entrances direct into the central room on the east and west sides as is the case in the Haridev temple. But now the stairs are extant on the west side only. That it had entrances at the south and east sides is evidenced by the stones that are still preserved and shaped like those found on the thresholds inside the temple.

The east and west sides of the *maṇḍapa* are open, and the inner surface, from which the stone pavement was probably removed, is enclosed on the east and west sides by a colonnade consisting of two rows of two double pilasters and pillars. The complete bases of the latter are still extant. The ornamentation preserved on the bases of the pilasters (see Plate XXXVIII) shows a marked similarity in design to some of the early Mughal buildings in the Lahore Fort.[2] The shafts, probably square in form, supported either double arches or lintels provided with brackets, such as have been found among the *débris* (see Plate XXXIX). Between each pair of the pilasters at the end of the two colonnades are doorways leading into small rooms 5′ 3″ by 5′ 5,″

[1] H. H. Cole. *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra*, London, 1873, p. 29 ff., Plan No. 3.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1902-03, p. 218. Nūr Bakhsh—Historical notes on the Lahore Fort and its surroundings.

and contrived in the thickness of the walls at the angles of this portion of the building. The one on the north-east is best preserved though roofless. It is of interest to note that this door is arched. Two steps in the centre of the north wall of the porch lead up to a passage, 7′ 3″ wide, and furnished on both sides with raised seats or *baiṭhaks*, such as are also found in the Govind dev temple, which must have carried pavilions. Such pavilions, a feature of Mughal architecture, are found flanking the entrance to the sanctum of the Govind dev temple at Bindrāban. They are raised on platforms similar to those extant at Nūrpur and provided with a cornice and panels of the same design.

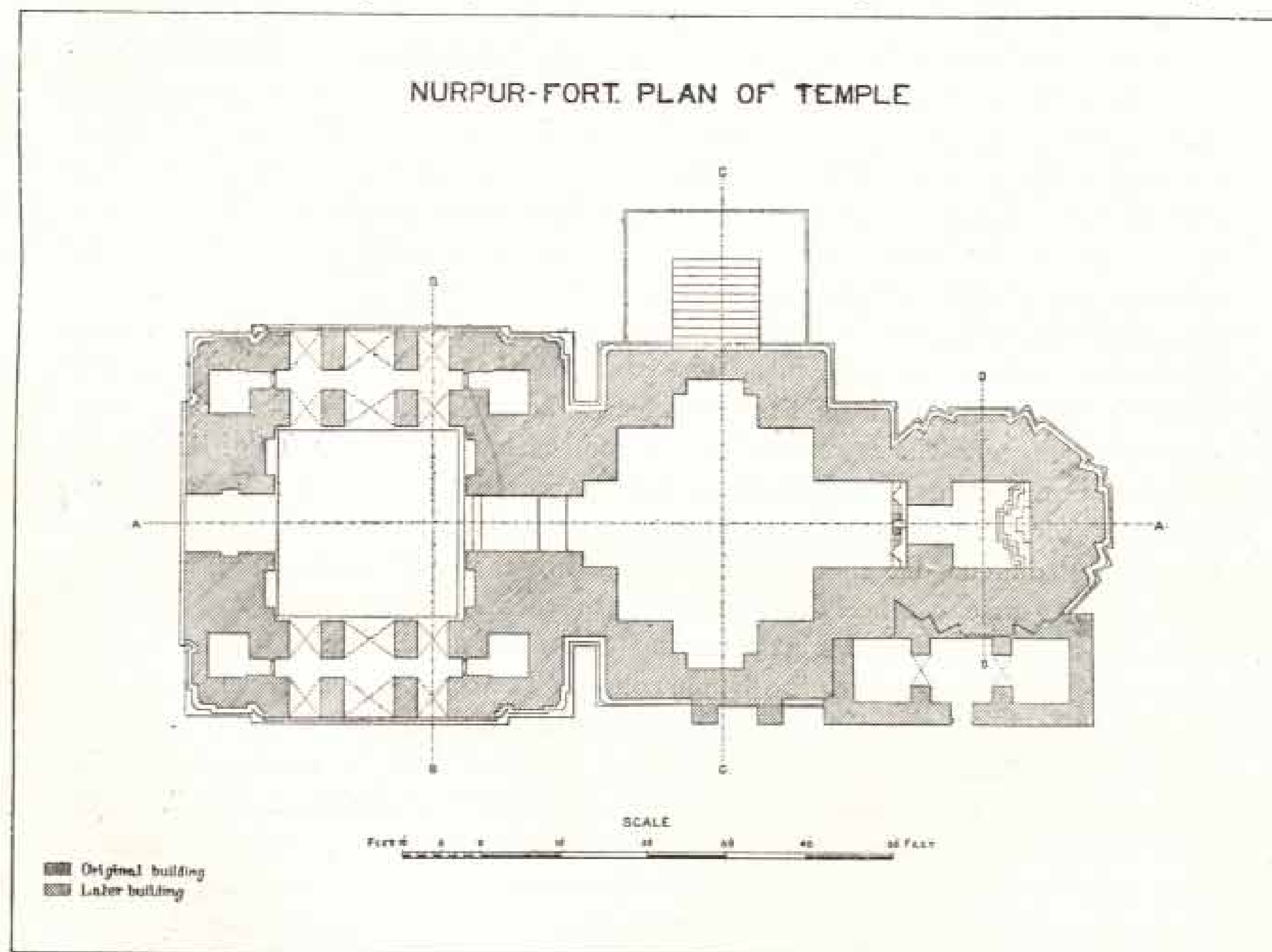


Fig. 1.

It is noteworthy that the threshold at the entrance of the central room, which is partly preserved, is provided with a projecting grotesque animal, which has a marked resemblance to those in the Bindrāban temple.

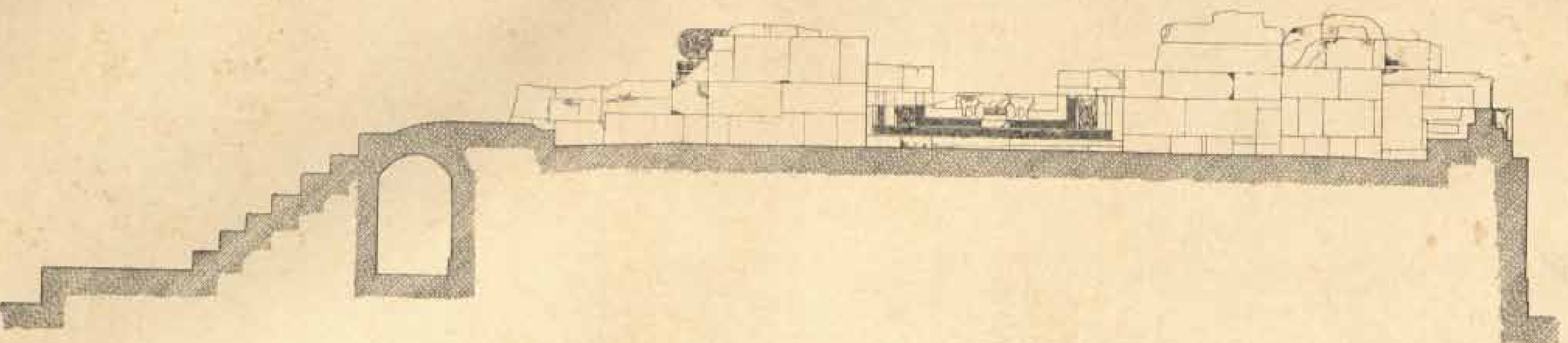
The central room is a rectangle measuring 24′ 8″ by 24′ 2″, with a recess in each wall 11′ 3″ wide and 6′ 2″ deep. The end of the eastern recess is marked by a stone with a well-preserved portion of the same curious animal projecting outward, and which, therefore, as noted above, must have formed part of the threshold of the eastern entrance.

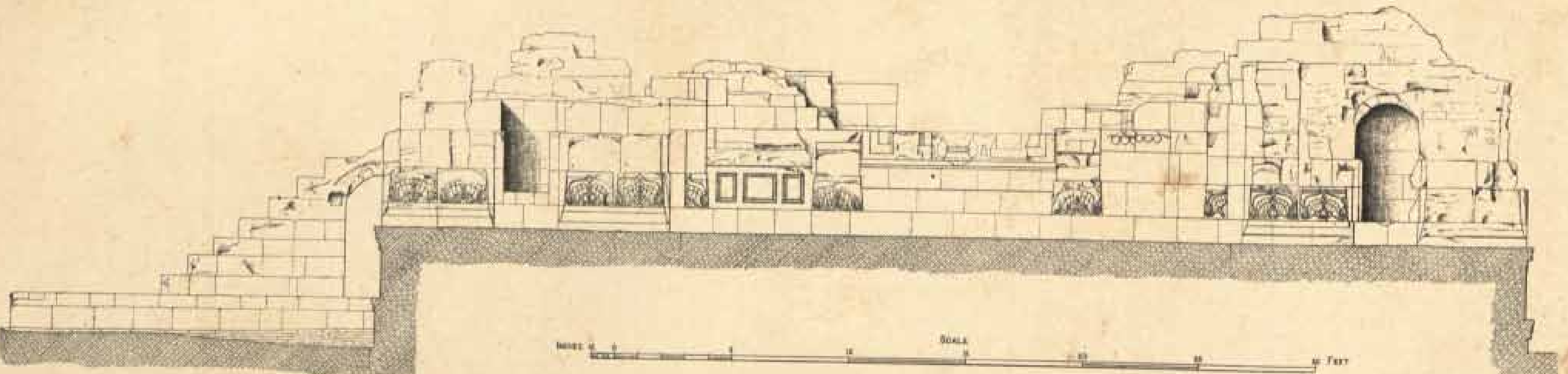
The entrance to the sanctum, or the northern room, is at the termination of the northern recess, which exceeds the others in depth. The border of scroll work along the threshold, which is partly preserved, must have continued on the door jambs. In

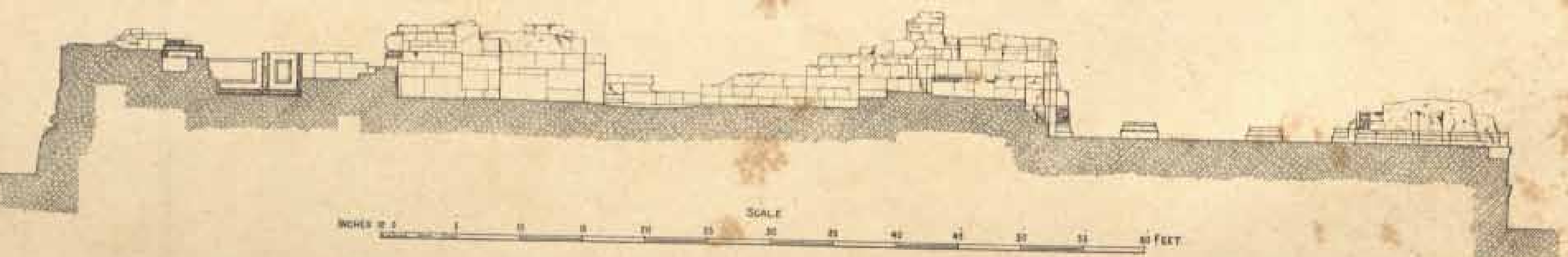
the middle of the threshold here, we again notice the peculiar ornamentation consisting of a projecting pair of grotesque animals separated by a vase-shaped stone which must have been the top of the flight of steps. Figurines of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the rivers Ganges and Jamnā, are artistically represented on both sides of the threshold beneath the jambs, but not on the door jambs themselves as is usually the case in Hindu temples of the pre-Muhammadan period. To the east, we find Gaṅgā standing on a *makara*, which is carved in the shape of a fish with a head resembling that of a crocodile. She holds a lotus and a water vessel in her hands and wears a long garland reaching down to her ankles. To the west is Yamunā. Only the lower part of the figure with her vehicle, the tortoise, is preserved. Beyond the threshold, a raised passage, 4′ 11″ wide, leads into the sanctuary, which measures 10′ 11″ square and is on the same level with the adjoining room. The walls of this chamber stand to a height of 4′ 9″ above the floor of the room and are of enormous thickness as compared to the narrow space they enclose. Their exterior surface is divided into three panels enclosed within a double border, the inner being of a foliated and the outer of a geometrical design. These panels must have formed a dado of the kind found in the Mug͟hal edifices. The designs also are decidedly Mug͟hal in style. It is noteworthy that the border of the panel on the north-east end is left blank. The panel on the south wall to the west of the entrance bears in relief a winged figure of a female, probably meant for a celestial nymph (Sanskrit *apsaras*). The representation is a good example of the mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan elements. To give wings to an *apsaras* is undoubtedly a Muhammadan treatment, winged figures are practically unknown to Hindu art. Flying figures are indeed very common, but the flight is expressed by the position of the legs, which are shown running-wise, one heel almost touching the head. The figure is 1′3″ high, and holds a nosegay and a peacock in the hands. She wears a *dhotī* like a Marāṭhā woman. I wonder if holding a peacock is a Hindu notion. The corresponding panel to the east is left blank. This circumstance would also indicate that the intended carving was never finished. An ornamental cornice, at a height of 3′ 9″ from the floor, is still extant. The further end of the shrine is occupied by a pedestal projecting from the back wall. This must have carried the image, which is now lost, but its place is still marked by a large mortice in the centre of the pedestal. At the western side is another rectangular hole, but its use is not apparent. On the pedestal also, the carving is not completed.

Another characteristic feature of the temple is the profuse decoration on the outer walls of the sanctum and the choir. The plinth has three flat bands slightly receding from one another. The first is flat and plain, the second divided into squares having geometrical figures within, and the third has half lotus rosettes on it. Then we notice an inverted ogee moulding enriched with boldly carved leaves, round the base of which are grouped pairs of fighting elephants. Then comes a cushion-like moulding adorned with a fret ornament giving it somewhat the appearance of a rope ornament. Above this is a flat band with demon masks conventionally treated and continued on three sides up to the colonnades of the nave. This may be said to represent the top of the plinth, and all that remains of the walls rising above it is beautifully carved in bands of ornament in low relief. Beyond an ornamental border, representing various figures treated in a naturalistic manner, there are figures of multifarious, mostly mythological, beings. The panels over this portion are skilfully carved and have a raised

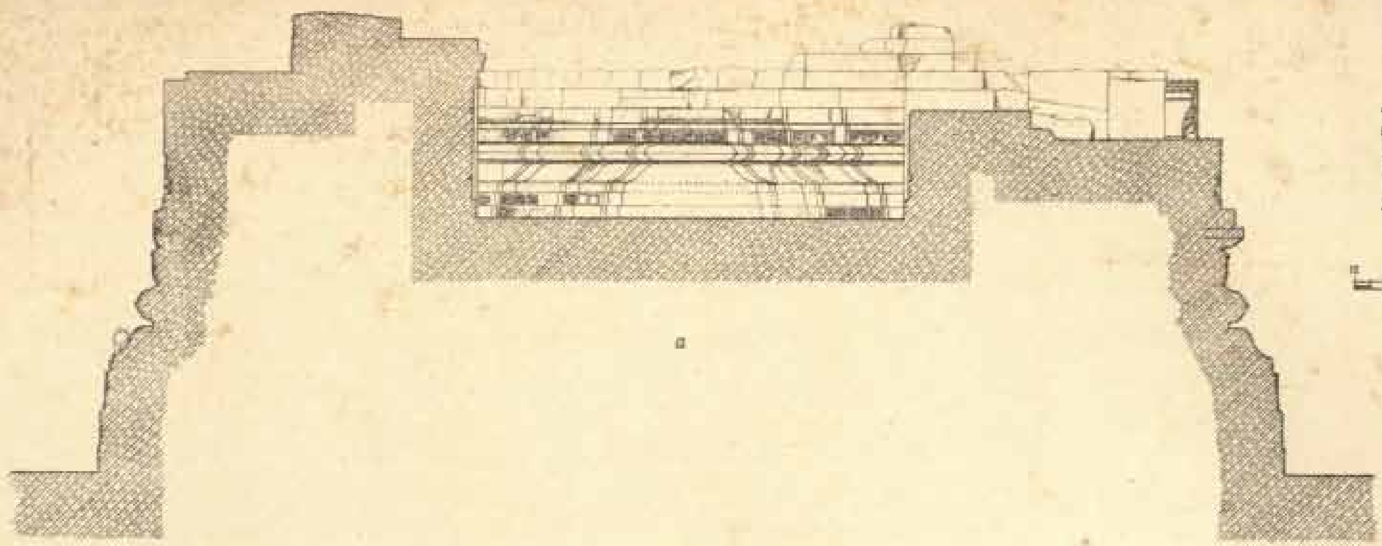
NŪRPUR FORT TEMPLE.







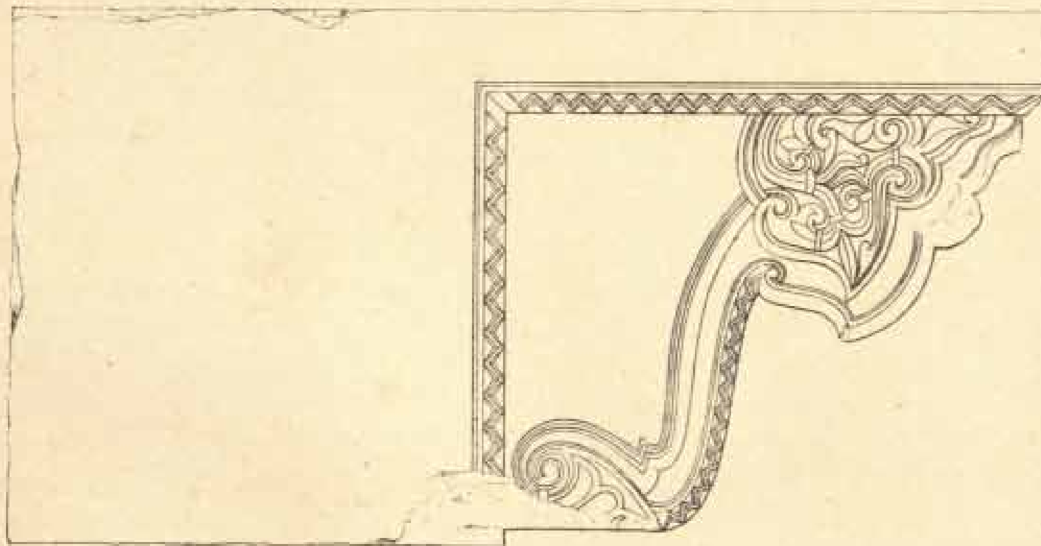
THREE SECTIONS.

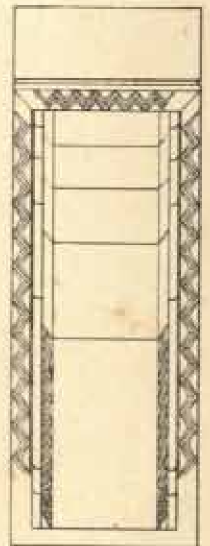

a

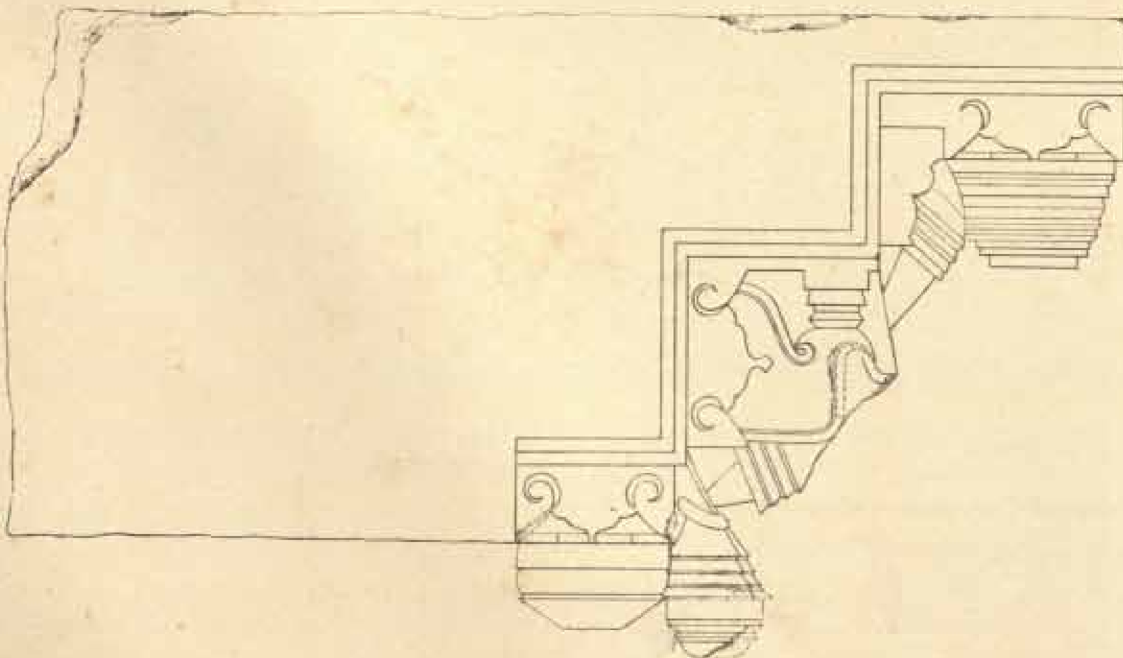


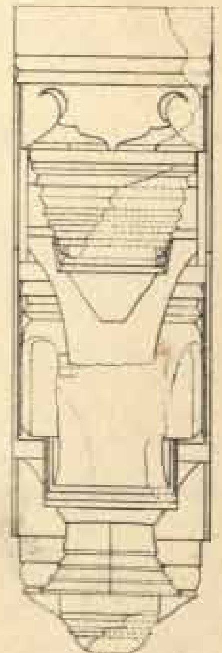

SCALE


SCALE
INCHES 12 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 FEET


b




c




SCALE
INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 FEET



SCULPTURED PANEL.

band in the middle, bearing representations of various animals such as ducks, peacocks, antelopes, deer, herons, and parrots, that are treated naturalistically. Here, too, a close resemblance with the row of figures on the early Mughal buildings in the Lahore Fort deserves special notice.

On the eastern wall, round the northern room, we see milch cows, bulls, milkmaids and a figure which most probably represents Kṛṣṇa among them. The face and hands are broken, but the attitude, in which he stands playing the flute, is quite distinct. The iconoclast has not left here any figure undefaced. Besides the scenes of camel fight, there are on the eastern wall of the central room the effigies of Śiva (three-faced), Durgā, Sūrya, and Viṣṇu on their respective vehicles. Then, to the north, the ten incarnations—*avatāras*—of Viṣṇu are represented in their correct order. Somewhat similar figures we find to the north of the eastern entrance, though they are too much disfigured for identification. On the north-east wall of the shrine, there are shown ascetics seated cross-legged in meditation. A similar row is to be noticed to the north-west. The figure of a lion near them is probably intended to show the supernatural power of these ascetics, who could tame the most ferocious of the animal kingdom. Opposite to this panel there are monkeys clinging to the branches of the trees. A figure riding a dragon, whose form is serpentine, with one foot placed on the hands of a Nāga, carved on the east of the sanctum, perhaps represents Kṛṣṇa killing Kāliya. A wrestling match is shown on the north wall of the adytum. Further on to the west a curious cart, somewhat similar to the *khacar* of the Central Provinces, attracts our notice. It is two-wheeled but void of a cover. The comparatively long pole is placed on the back of a fat but pygmean bull.

The temple was most probably dedicated to Viṣṇu. It has no signs of *Śiva* or *Śakti* worship. Kṛṣṇa, the Divine cowherd attended with milkmaids (*gopīs*), cows, etc., is represented on it. This we should expect in a Viṣṇuite shrine. The pedestal, moreover, proves that the cella contained an image and not a *liṅga*. And it should be remembered that Śiva is mostly worshipped under the form of the phallic emblem. Besides, tradition says that the image of Brajrāj in the Ṭhākurdvārā, noticed above, originally belonged to this sanctuary.

The popular belief that the temple was destroyed by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, does not deserve any credit. But, as there is no extant record which can settle the date of this interesting building, it will be worth while to see what the structure itself tells us about the point. First of all, the very plan, as we have already noticed, closely resembles that of the Hari dev temple, built by Rājā Bhagwān Dās about A.D. 1557, and of the Govind dev shrine, erected by Mānsingh in Saṁ. 1647 (A.D. 1590), during the tolerant reign of Akbar.[1] The ornamentation also is of the mixed Hindu-Mughal style, which was in vogue at the time of the said Emperor and his immediate successors. Besides, several of its details are practically the same as are to be seen in the buildings of that period. Thus the capitals and brackets that are lying scattered round here, bear a striking similarity as regards their design with those of the early Mughal buildings in the Lahore Fort. As remarked above, the effigies of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, unlike those in the earlier shrines, are found below the jambs. It is also noteworthy that the carving shows no sign of great age. Finally, the mason marks on the east

[1] Grouse. *Mathurā, a District Memoir*; pp. 224 and 282.

wall of the sanctum are letters of the Ṭāṅkarī alphabet of a decidedly late type, and they furnish the conclusive proof of the building belonging to the early Mughal period. At the same time, it is also certain that the edifice had very few years of existence, for the decoration, save the portion that was intentionally destroyed, is wonderfully fresh and free from decay.

Though, as we have noticed above, the ornamentation of the interior was not quite finished, yet it is very probable that the building was brought to completion before it was rased to the ground. This is evidenced by the *amalaka* stone, brackets, and carved stones, that are lying on the spot and could have been used only for the ceiling of the structure.

If the temple was built, as it very probably was, by Rājā Bāsū, the founder of the fort, it was possibly destroyed when Sūrajmall's rebellion was suppressed, *i.e.*, in A.H. 1027 (A. D. 1618). For we learn from the *Tuzuk*[1] that Jahāngīr issued peremptory orders to the leaders of his host, who quelled that insurrection, to pull down from the very foundation the fortifications and the buildings which Sūrajmall or his father had erected, and these orders must have been obeyed.

HIRĀNANDA.

[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 318 (S. Ahmad's edition, 1864).

THE TEMPLE OF NARASIṀHANĀTHA.

THE temple of Narasiṁhanātha[1] is in the Padampur zemindāri, and is about 20 miles south-west of Padampur, in the Sambalpur district. The nearest village to it is Durgāpālī two miles off, which is a mere collection of huts. The temple is situated at the foot of a hill, and is surrounded on all sides by one of the thickest jungles of the Central Provinces. A streamlet gurgles close by, the water of which is regarded as sacred, and at five places accumulates itself into five pools, called *kuṇḍas*. The trees and shrubs, with which the hill is overgrown, are so tall and numerous that even at mid-day the sunlight that filters through their foliage is hardly stronger or brighter than that of the morning outside the jungle. Higher up on the hill towards the south-east, near the first *kuṇḍa*, are four colossal figures, rudely carved out of the rock. They are shown as the first four of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Close beside the northern door of the temple is another huge rude figure carved out of the rock, which is pointed out as that of Sahadeva, the remaining fifth Pāṇḍava brother. Near him is another colossal figure which is of Gaṇapati. Not far from these may be noticed amongst the broken sculptures lying loose a nicely chiselled pedestal with seven horses in front of it. The image which was originally set up on it must, doubtless, have been that of Sūrya.

The temple faces the east, and consists of a shrine and *jagmohan* or hall. In front of the temple, on the other side of the streamlet, is a Garuḍa *stambha* or pillar, with a small niche at the top, where a lamp is lighted during the *Divālī* festival. It is said to have been erected but seven years ago. Near the *jagmohan* are small chambers which are modern erections. One of them is used as a granary and a cooking-room where the *bhoga* or offering made to the deity is prepared. Others are occupied by the *pūjārīs* or worshippers, and one of them has been reserved as a *dharmaśālā* for pilgrims.

The walls of the *jagmohan*, as they are at present, are unquestionably rebuilt. The hall had originally three doorways, facing the east, north, and south; but now only the first two remain, the third being blocked up and replaced with masonry work, thus giving an uncouth and unsymmetrical shape to the side wall. The remaining door-frames are of stone of a dark colour, and are deeply and beautifully carved. That on the north has Gajalakṣmī occupying the post of honour on the lintel. Lakṣmī

[1] Narasiṁhanātha has been entered in the *Lists of Antiquarian Remains* for the Central Provinces and Berar (see p. 64), but it does not seem to have been visited by any antiquarian or Archæological Surveyor before me.

sits on a *padmāsana* or lotus throne with her right leg resting on the throne and her left hanging loose and touching a stool down below. On each side of her is a *chaurī* bearer, and above the latter are two elephants, one on each side, standing on lotuses and holding water pitchers in their trunks. In old temples in the south, Gajalakṣmī plays a prominent part on the doorways, especially of the halls. And it is not surprising that the figure of Gajalakṣmī should be seen in an old temple in Orissa, which is connected with the south more than with the north; and, as a matter of fact, even in Orissa, at Cuttack, we meet with a sculpture representing Gajalakshmī in one of its ancient caves.[1]

Now, to turn to the temple of Narasiṁhanātha; the door-frame on the north has



Fig. 1.

three mouldings, the central one mostly carved with pairs of musicians; and the other two with floral ornamentation. It holds, in relief near the bottom on its proper right, Śiva in one compartment and Gaṅgā on a *makara* or crocodile in the other, and on its proper left, Śiva again in one compartment and Yamunā on a *kūrma* or tortoise in the other. The door-frame facing the east is almost exactly like this, but the figures at the bottom are not Śiva and Gaṅgā or Yamunā, but a *dvārapāla* or door-keeper and a female *chaurī* bearer. In the projecting wall above this doorway are *Navagraha* or the Nine Planets, which are generally sculptured over the entrances of halls or shrines to ward off the influence of evil spirits. Near this door-frame on its proper left is the standing image of a warrior with hands folded and with a sword held against the breast between it and the left hand. Judging from analogous instances, this seems to have

[1] *Cave Temples of India*, by Fergusson and Burgess, p. 71 and pl. I.

been a figure of the personage who was principally connected with either the construction or the restoration of the temple. The roof of the *jagmohan* is supported by the walls, and four columns of stone of a reddish colour and nicely sculptured. In the walls, outside, have been built some sculptures, which, in all likelihood, formed part of the original exterior of the hall.

On the lintel of the shrine doorway is again a figure of Gajalakṣmī, but here Lakṣmī is seated cross-legged. The door jambs contain, near the bottom, images of Jaya and Vijaya in niches elegantly carved. In other respects, the shrine door-frame is plain and devoid of all ornamentation. There are only three—the principal—niches on the exterior of the shrine. That facing the north has an image of Trivikrama with four hands, one broken off and the other three bearing a conch, a discus, and a mace. Near his foot, on one side, is Lakṣmī and on the other are three figures, *viz.*, of Vāmana, Bali, and his minister. In the niche at the back is Narasiṁha, and in that facing the south, Varāha.

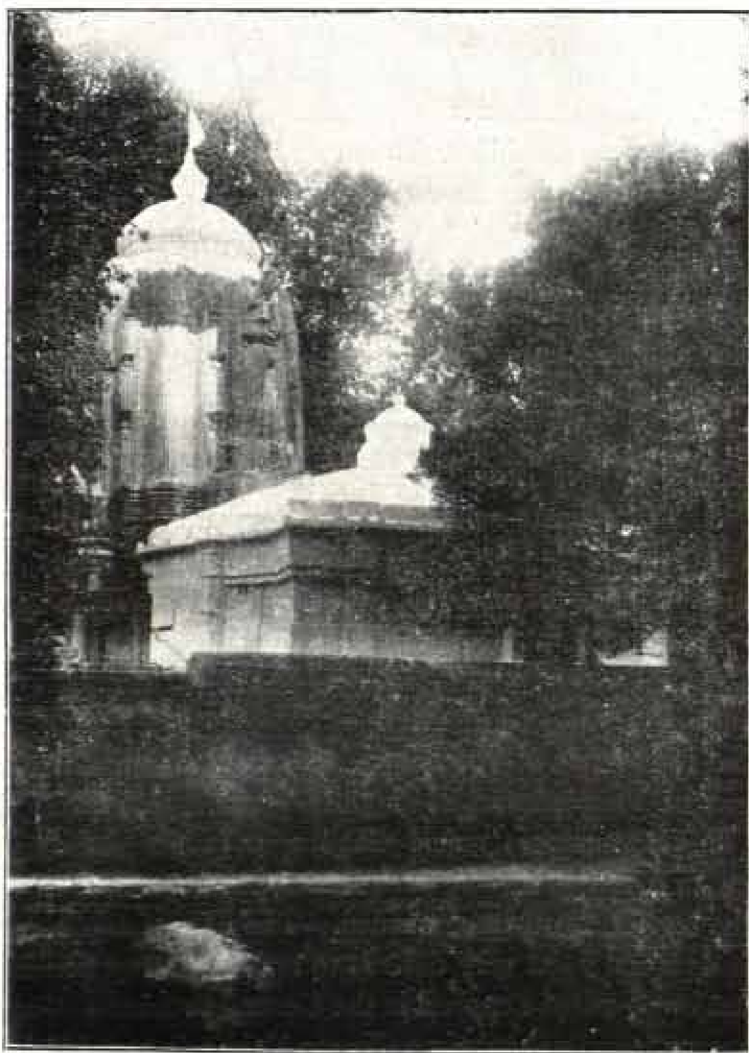


Fig. 2.

Inside the shrine is a very small image of what is called by the people there Mārjāra-kesarī, a form of Viṣṇu with the head of a cat and the body of a lion. It is thickly swathed in clothes, and has a brass nose, eyes, and mouth. A long description of the genesis of this incarnation of Viṣṇu has been set forth in a local *māhātmya* composed in Oṛiyā, but a brief account of it will not here be out of place. A certain ṛṣi was performing religious austerities on the banks of the Godāvarī. He had a daughter of the name of Mālatī. Rāvaṇa, the demon king of Ceylon, once came thither and was smitten with her beauty. He ravished her, and thereupon the ṛṣi cursed her and forthwith quitted the place. She fell into a swoon, and was thrown in this condition into the river by Rāvaṇa. But Godāvarī protected her, and she was brought back safely to the bank. When she regained her consciousness, she began to search after her father. Finding her search to be fruitless, she took to weeping. Her wailings were heard by Mūṣaka (mouse), the vehicle of Gaṇapati, who came up to her.

He promised to restore her to her father on condition of enjoying intercourse with her; and thus from Rāvaṇa and Mūṣaka was born of her a demon called Mūṣakadatta. When the latter grew up, he ate his mother up. Thereafter he performed religious austerities, which propitiated Śiva. The god conferred on him the boon that he would have cause for fear from none, but Narasiṁha of the *satyayuga.* The demon thus became a source of trouble to the gods. The gods repaired to Rāmacandra and prayed for his mercy. Rāmacandra assumed the form of Narasiṁha and came within the sight of Mūṣakadatta. The latter fled in fear, and was pursued by Narasiṁha. The demon approached the mountain called Gandhagiri where the temple stands, and besought him to grant him refuge. This was granted, and the demon assumed the form of a mouse and entered the mountain. Narasiṁha had, therefore, to become a cat, and continued the pursuit. But Gandhagiri interceded, and so did the gods also, who requested Narasiṁha to establish himself there in that feline form, and devour Mūṣakadatta when he would come out.

Into the wall of the hall on the outside and facing the south has been stuck a slab of black stone with an inscription engraved thereon in Oṛiyā characters and in Sanskrit language interspersed with Oṛiyā words. The slab has been so deeply inserted that it is difficult to take an inked impression of the inscription. It contains four lines of writing, and, as it is a little abraded, it is not easy to decipher it. The following is a transcript thereof :—

1. Ōṁ namaḥ Śrī-Nṛsiṁhāya | . . . . . . Śrī-vikāri-nāma-sambatsare Raivata-māha . . śukra-vāre hastā-nakṣatre Pāṭaṇā-nagara-sthita-Vairāja-devarāj-āṅkara-putra-Śrī-Veja [la]—

2. devarāj-āhvaya-bhūpatinā Mārjāra-parvate . . . . . . Narasiṁhanātha-svām-īṅkara-deūla tolāita nija-prabhu-guṇa-ratna

3. . . . .

4. . . . . . Narasiṁhasya prītaye.

The inscription records that the temple of Narasiṁha was built on the Mārjāra mountain by Vejaladevarāja, son of Vairājadevarāja, king of Pāṭaṇā, which lies to the other side of the mountain. The mountain is called Gandhagiri in the *māhātmya*, but is named Mārjāra-parvata in the inscription, doubtless after *Mārjāra*, the feline form, in which, according to the legend, Narasiṁha resided. The date of the inscription is unfortunately lost, but it does not seem very difficult to arrive at an approximate date. In the list of the Mahārājas of Pāṭṇā supplied in the Central Provinces Gazetteer on pages 483-484, the consecutive names corresponding to Vairājadeva and Vejaladeva of our inscription are Baijul Deo I. and Baikrāj Deo, the third and fourth princes respectively. It will be perceived that here the order of succession is reversed, and that the name of Baikrāj Deo should have preceded that of Baijul Deo I., but such a slip in the genealogical list is pardonable, when it has to be taken so far back as 500 or 600 years. Now, from the same Gazetteer[1] we learn that Rumail Deo, the first king of the dynasty, was born about the year 1250 A.D., and was adopted by the chief of Kholagurh, whom he succeeded when he came of age. Supposing that he came of age at twenty-one years, he ascended the throne in A.D. 1271. He is supposed to have reigned for thirty-two years, and his successor, Mahaling Sing, for six years. Baikrāj

---

[1] See p. 469.

Deo, who must be the Vairājadeva of our inscription and who, as just shown, must be supposed to be the third, and not the fourth, prince in the dynastic list, and consequently the successor of Mahaling Sing, thus came to the throne in A.D. 1309. Baikrāj Deo reigned for thirteen years, and thus we obtain A.D. 1323 as the date of his successor Baijul Deo's accession. We have sixty-five years as the duration of Baijul Deo's reign. Baijul Deo, therefore, reigned from A.D. 1323 to A.D. 1387. Now, according to Mr. Robert Sewell's Chronological Tables, the cyclic year Vikāri, mentioned in our inscription, fell in A.D. 1359. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that our inscription was dated in A.D. 1359-60. The inscription says that the temple of Narasiṁhanātha was built by Vejaladeva, but we are aware of many instances of kings and chiefs speaking of themselves as having erected temples when they merely reconstructed them or some parts of them, so that it is by no means certain whether Vejaladeva actually built, or simply rebuilt, the temple, or, what is highly probable, the *jagmohan*, which, as it stands, is doubtless a modern reconstruction.

From the architectural point of view, our temple has to be assigned to approximately the same period when the celebrated Black Pagoda at Konārak was built. The walls and spire of the shrines of both the temples bear a remarkably close resemblance in style to each other. Perhaps some slight difference may be perceived with regard to the *amalaka* and finial of the spire, which are not so marked and distinct in outline as those of the temple at Konārak; but we have to remember that the temple of Narasiṁhanātha is whitewashed every third year, and, in fact, it was so being whitewashed when I visited it, as may be seen from the accompanying illustrations. The difference that is discernible has thus been caused by thick coatings of plaster that must have been carried on for years. It is only with respect to their *jagmohans* that any difference worth calling such may be noticed, but the hall of the temple of Narasiṁhanātha, as stated above, has undergone repairs and restoration, and cannot thus be expected to be in its original form. Our temple is no doubt somewhat less elaborately carved than the Black Pagoda, but it by no means shows any deterioration of style, and it may, on account of its very lack of the exuberance of detail be slightly earlier in age. The Black Pagoda is popularly believed to have been built by King Narasiṁhadeva I., and the published copper-plates of the Gaṅga Kings also tell us that he built a temple to the Sun at Koṇākoṇa. Even supposing that Koṇākoṇa is Konārak, it does not follow that the temple was erected so late as the middle of the thirteenth century, when Narasiṁhadeva I. flourished. The practice of kings taking credit for building new temples, when they merely restored, rebuilt or repaired those existing in their time, is too common to require any new illustration. From a strictly architectural point, the construction of the Black Pagoda has been ascribed by Fergusson to the latter half of the ninth century, and our temple, which corresponds to it in style, cannot be of a later period.[1] The deeply and artistically sculptured doors of the *jagmohan*, and especially the carving of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the bottom of one of them, which are met with only in very early temples, are alone sufficient to show that our temple could not have been constructed later than the ninth century. The inscription, then, informs us, that the temple itself or, more accurately, the *jagmohan*, was rebuilt afterwards, in A. D. 1359-60, by Vejaladeva.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

[1] But see *A. S. R.*, 1902-3, pp. 46-7.

EPIGRAPHY.

THE number of inscriptions copied in the course of the year amounted to some 1,100, of which about 70 per cent. came from Southern India. No inscriptions whatever have been forthcoming from the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but this negative result is of some interest, inasmuch as the Superintendent, Dr. Stein, states that he made repeated enquiries in the neighbourhood of Mahāban, where many of the inscriptions in unknown character, which had been brought to Sir Harold Deane between the years 1894-1897, were alleged to have been found.

The Burma report shows a list of 31 stone inscriptions with dates from the twelfth to the nineteenth century A.D., as well as five bell inscriptions dating back a century or less. Besides these, a Sanskrit stone inscription was found at Halingyi, a place ten miles to the south-west of Shwebo town. The alphabet is said to be a form of Gupta; the inscription has not, however, yet been examined by a competent scholar. Of greater interest is the recovery of a collection of about 600 old grants which were brought together by command of King Bodaw-phra about the end of the eighteenth century in order that they might be copied and remodelled. The stones in question have not as yet been examined. Three out of the ten stones of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions at Pegu were, it may be mentioned, pieced together in the course of the year. The language of these three stones is Pāli, while that of the remaining ones is Mōn.

In Assam, a new copy was made of the ancient rock inscription near Tezpur belonging to the Gupta year 510, and was sent to Professor Kielhorn of Göttingen for publication. Another inscription of an important character was found on one of the images of a small ruined temple near the Deopani River in Sibsagar. It probably dates from the twelfth century A.D., but it has not as yet been read.

From Bengal came three copper-plate grants, two new inscriptions of the Hijra year 900, found at the mosque of Kheraul in Murshidabad and recording the date of the building, and finally two dedicatory inscriptions of the seventh and ninth centuries A.D. from Budh-Gaya. The last-mentioned are of interest as they record gifts made by Ceylonese monks.

The number of inscriptions copied in the Punjab and United Provinces amounted to 130. They are of very different age and importance. The oldest among them were brought to light during the excavations at Sārnāth. Chief of these is the new inscription of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka, cut on the shaft of a sandstone pillar.

The dialect of the new inscription is the same form of Māgadhī that is used in several other Aśoka inscriptions.[1] The same pillar also contains two later inscriptions. The first, which mentions a Rājan Aśvaghoṣa, is dated in the fortieth year, probably of the Kaniṣka era, in which case it would belong to the reign of Huviṣka. The second, which perhaps belongs to the fourth century A.D., makes mention of the Vātsīputrīya Sammitīya sect of Buddhism. The name of Aśvaghoṣa recurs in another inscription likewise unearthed at Sārnāth.

Besides the above, the Sārnāth excavations brought to light votive inscriptions of the third year of Kaniṣka, which contain the names of two local Kṣatrapas, Kharapallāna and Vanaspara, who are not known from other sources; two votive inscriptions of the Gupta period (perhaps fifth century A.D.) and other inscriptions of minor importance.

The excavations conducted at Kasiā were less rich in epigraphical finds, but one is well worthy of notice—a votive inscription in Gupta characters of the fifth century.

Most of the inscriptions copied in Chamba State belong to the period of the Rāṇās, who were local rulers before the consolidation of the State by Sāhillavarman. They are written in the Śāradā and Ṭāṅkarī characters in Sanskrit and vernacular, and will be published later on by Dr. Vogel in a special report.

Of the 171 inscriptions copied in the Western India Circle, details are not yet to hand, owing to Mr. Bhandarkar's deputation to the Bengal Circle during Dr. Bloch's absence on leave, but in the meanwhile the following items may be noticed:—(1) A copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda II., has been found at Dhulia in Khāndesh. (2) Another set of copper-plates found in a stone box buried beside the old temple of Siddheśvara on the island at Māndhātā in Nimar, are said to relate to a visit to Māndhātā by one of the kings of Mālwā, and are dated 1282 S. (3) In connexion with the inscriptions copied in the Kamal Maula mosque at Dhār, it may be mentioned that there is a slab at the Town Hall, Bombay, which had been brought from the same place many years ago. It contains an inscription in an old form of Rājasthānī, or Saurasena Apabhraṁśa. The remaining Dhār inscriptions are apparently of considerable interest. Only one of them has, however, as yet been made accessible. It contains the first two acts of a Nāṭikā, the Pārijātamañjarī, written in praise of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman by his Guru Madana. The king himself is introduced as the hero of the play, which makes reference to historical occurrences during his reign. According to the dramatical theory of the Hindūs, the heroine of a Nāṭikā ought to be a princess. In our play this is not strictly the case. She is, however, stated to have been a princess in a former birth. If Prof. Hultzsch is right in supposing that she was an actually living person brought on the stage, and that she was not in reality of royal blood, the play is of considerable interest as an attempt to bring the actual state of things into accord with the exigencies of the dramatical theory. The Nāṭikā contains passages in two Prākrit dialects. As is also the case with similar fragments formerly brought to light, the Prākrit dialects of the Pārijātamañjarī more closely agree with the rules of the Prākrit grammarians than do most manuscripts of Indian plays. The Pārijātamañjarī has been published by

---

[1] It has been published by Dr. Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 166 and following.

Prof. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 and ff., and separately at Leipzig, Otto Harassowitz, 1906.

The most important part of the year's work in epigraphy has undoubtedly been done in Southern India. No less than 746 stone inscriptions have been copied during the year. One hundred and fifty of them, which were prepared during a tour in Kurnool and Cuddapah, have not, however, been examined in time to be included in this year's Report. Some of the inscriptions now dealt with, on the other hand, were copied during the preceding year, but could not be included in the last Report. In addition to the stone inscriptions, thirteen sets of copper-plates were copied and examined.

Mr. Venkayya has furnished me with an excellent analysis of the most important among these inscriptions, and the remarks which follow are based on his report.

Some interesting Pallava inscriptions have been brought to light. The oldest is a copper-plate grant of Siṁhavarman, the son of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa. The localities mentioned in the grant have not been identified. They must, however, probably be looked for in the Nellore district. Prof. Hultzsch, who has published the grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. VIII, pp. 159 and ff.), is probably right in suggesting that Siṁhavarman is the same king in whose reign Viṣṇugopa's Uruvupalli plates (*I.A.*, Vol., V, pp. 51 and ff.) are dated. Viṣṇugopa apparently never ascended the throne, but continued to live, with the title of Yuvamahārāja, after his son Siṁhavarman had commenced to reign.

Several inscriptions from the Cuddapah district contain information of a dynasty of Coḷas, which has not formerly been noticed (compare however, *E. I.*, V., p. 123 note). They seem to have been independent sovereigns, and their inscriptions are apparently anterior to the eighth century A.D. Mr. Venkayya draws attention to the fact that this Coḷa Kingdom might well correspond to Hiuen Thsang's description of Chu-li-ye.

More than half of all the inscriptions under consideration belong to the Coḷas of Tanjore. Most of them are referred to one of the two names Parakesarivarman and Rājakesarivarman, which are used alternately by Coḷa kings. It is not therefore certain that the same kings are intended in all cases. Of more interest are some epigraphs of King Parāntaka I., who commenced to reign in A.D. 907. They mention his expeditions against the Pāṇḍyas and the king of Ceylon. It seems as if the Pāṇḍyas, assisted by the king of Ceylon, had invaded his country, but were repulsed. Towards the end of his reign, King Parāntaka in his turn captured Madura and also invaded Ceylon. One of his inscriptions is actually found at Āṇaimalai near Madura. Another inscription furnishes the surname of Kodaṇḍarāmaṉ for one of his sons, we do not know which.

The central shrine of the Śiva temple at Kāḷahasti contains inscriptions of the Coḷa kings Rājarāja I. (commenced to reign A.D. 985), his son Rājendra Coḷa (from 1012), Rājādhirāja I. (from 1018), and his younger brother, Vīrarājendra I. (from 1062-63).

Rājarāja I was the son of a grandson of Parāntaka I. Inscriptions dated in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign have been found in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevelly district. They show that the Coḷas must then have held sway over part of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. We can further infer from these inscriptions that the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet had already begun to be superseded by Tamil in those parts.

According to another inscription, Rājarāja's son Rājendra Coḷa I. gave his name to the Gopālasvāmin temple at Maṇṇārkoyil near Ambāsamudram, which had been built by the Cera king Rājasiṁha. Another Cera king Rājarājadeva is mentioned in two Coḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions. This mention of Cera kings perhaps characterizes them as Coḷa feudatories, and adds some probability to the boast found in inscriptions of Rājarāja and Rājendra Coḷa that they conquered the Ceras.

Inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I. (reigned from 1070 A. D.) have been found on the Perumukkal Hill in South Arcot, in the Pudukoṭṭai State and at Śrīnivāsanallūr in the Trichinopoly district. The latter, which is dated in his forty-second year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1111-12, shows that the Coḷa conquest of Kaliṅga took place in or before that year. We know that Kulottuṅga had already invaded Kaliṅga in his twenty-sixth year (A.D. 1095-96). The result of this invasion was probably that he added Southern Kaliṅga to his dominions. The second invasion was perhaps directed against Northern Kaliṅga, presumably in order to assist the Trikaliṅga king Coḍagaṅga against some rebellious feudatory.

During the reign of Kulottuṅga I. and his successors, the Coḷas were in possession of Conjeeveram. Inscriptions dated in the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh years of Kulottuṅga III. (commenced to reign A. D. 1178) refer to the capture of the town by him. It must, therefore, have been temporarily lost some time before that date.

At Trichinopoly, in the old Coḷa country, an inscription has been found of the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa. He must, accordingly, have conquered part of the Coḷa kingdom. The Trichinopoly inscription shows that Varaguṇa is another name of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, of whom five inscriptions have been copied in the course of the year. We know from an older inscription that the Gaṅga Bāṇa king Pṛthivīpati I. lost his life in a battle against Varaguṇa (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 76). He must, therefore, have reigned in the latter half of the ninth century A.D.[1]

Another old Pāṇḍya king, Avanīpaśekhara Śrīvallabha, is mentioned in an inscription from the Pudukoṭṭai State. We cannot as yet fix his time.

The remaining Pāṇḍya inscriptions copied in the course of the year date from the time of the later Pāṇḍyas of Madura. One of them (No. 551 of 1904) confirms Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of A.D. 1268 as the initial date of the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara I.; another (No. 702 of 1904) shows that in A.D. 1264-65 the Pāṇḍyas were in possession of Kaṇṇaṉūr near Trichinopoly, which was the Hoysaḷa capital in the Coḷa country.

One of the inscriptions of the year (No. 112 of 1905), which was found near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevelly district, contains a grant of the Coḷa king Rājendra Coḷa I. (date of accession A.D. 1012), which was to take effect from the fifteenth year of his son Sundara Śoḷa-Pāṇḍiyaṉ. This throws light on the well-known term Coḷa-Pāṇḍya. The Pāṇḍya kingdom had been annexed by the Coḷas early in the reign of Rājarāja I. (from A.D. 985). His son and successor Rājendra Coḷa seems to have appointed one of his sons as viceroy of the Pāṇḍya Kingdom and given him the title Coḷa-Pāṇḍya.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas are represented by an inscription (No. 383 of 1904) found on a pillar at Rāmeśvaram in the Cuddapah district. It gives the genealogy of the family from Dantidurga (middle of eighth century), to whom it assigns the surname of

[1] The initial date of his reign has now been fixed at A.D. 862-63.

Sāhasatuṅga, and down to Kṛṣṇa III. (middle of tenth century), to whom it gives the birudas Dhuradaṅkakāra and Raṭṭakandarpa, and who is stated to have sent an expedition against Kāñci. Five Tamil inscriptions of his reign have been copied at Kiḷūr in the course of the year. One of them (No. 16 of 1905) makes mention of a feudatory Vaidumba Mahārāja called Śrī-Vikramāditya.

Numerous records of the Vijayanagara kings have been copied in the course of the year. The earliest one was found at Dalavāṇūr in South Arcot and refers to Prince Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar. Its date is A.D. 1362-63. The title Ŏḍeya or Uḍaiyar, which occurs in this and similar inscriptions, was perhaps assumed by such Vijayanagar princes as were sent out as rulers of provinces. Thus an inscription dated during the reign of Harihara II. and in A.D. 1382-83 (No. 404 of 1904) records a gift of land made while Harihara's son Vīra-Devarāya-Ŏḍeya was ruling Udayagiri.

Two inscriptions from Tiruvārūr (Nos. 566 and 567 of 1904), dated in A.D. 1440-41, belong to the reign of Devarāya II. The king himself is not named. The inscriptions record the building of a *gopura* by Nāgarasa, son of Siddarasa, for the merit of the minister Lakkhaṇa Daṇṇāyaka Uḍaiyar. The latter is also known from other inscriptions, and Mr. Venkayya has also traced his name in the legend of a common copper-coin which had formerly been explained differently (compare *I. A.*, XX, p. 304).

There are, further, inscriptions dating from the reign of the Tuḷuva dynasty of Vijayanagara (thus an inscription at Kaḷakkāḍ in Tinnevelly, in which Sadāśiva boasts that he conquered the Musalmāns and levied tribute from Ceylon). Others may be mentioned that are issued by the Karnāṭa dynasty. Three families of Nāyakas, from Vellore, Madura, and Tanjore, are likewise represented. The last one apparently had some interest in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in South Arcot, for the *gopura* with eleven storeys at that place was completed by Śēvvapa Nāyaka of Tanjore.

STEN KONOW.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS AT UTTARAMALLŪR.

UTTARAMALLŪR is a village 10½ miles north-west of the Madurāntakam station on the Chingleput-Villupuram section of the South Indian Railway. There are seven temples in the village, all of which bear inscriptions. Of these, the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple is the most important, as it is full of ancient epigraphs belonging to the Pallava, Gaṅga-Pallava, and Cōḷa dynasties.[1] The name of the village in all these earlier records is Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam, *i.e.* the Brāhmaṇa settlement called after the 'northern Mēru.' As the similar name Prabhumēru is used for a Western Gaṅga king,[2] Uttaramēru may be taken to be the surname of some ancient Pallava or Gaṅga-Pallava king who founded the village. But the analogy of Dakṣiṇamēru, which was the name in ancient times of the Śiva temple at Cidambaram[3] in the South Arcot district would lead us to suspect this derivation of the name of the village. The mythical mountain Mēru is supposed to be of gold, and the Śiva temple at Cidambaram probably got the name 'Southern Mēru' after its gilding either by the Cōḷa Parāntaka I.,[4] the king in whose reign the two subjoined inscriptions were engraved, or by the anterior (Pallava) king, Hiraṇyavarman.[5] None of the temples at Uttaramallūr is gilded at present, and neither is there any tradition about any of them having been gilded in ancient times. Besides, in other similar compounds (ending in *caturvēdimaṅgalam*), denoting names of villages, the first member is almost invariably either the name or surname of a king or chief. Consequently it may be concluded that the village of Uttaramallūr was called Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam after a king whose name or surname was Uttaramēru. We have at present no evidence to ascertain either the name of the king who bore this title, or the dynasty to which he belonged.

Of the 71 inscriptions (Nos. 1 to 41 and 61 to 90) copied in 1898 in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Uttaramallūr, the subjoined two have been selected for publication here as they throw some light on village administration in Southern India in the tenth century A.D. They are engraved on the west wall of the temple close to

[1] See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1897-98, pp. 18 to 21.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 75.

[3] The most important shrine in the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore was called Dakṣiṇamēru-Viṭaṅka probably after the temple at Cidambaram; see also the Tamil *Tiruvisaippā*, p. 107, verse 4, where Mēruvidangaṉ occurs as the name of the god at Cidambaram.

[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol II, p. 379.

[5] See the Tamil *Kōyiṟpurāṇam*, p. 245, verse 17.

one another. The second occupies a space of about 23 feet by $4\frac{1}{4}$, and the first 1 foot 10 inches by $9\frac{1}{3}$ feet. The last three lines of the latter extend to a length of 26 feet 8 inches. The writing is well executed, and the size of the letters is, on an average, 1 inch. The characters are Tamil and Grantha of the regular type of the period to which the inscriptions have to be assigned.[1] Two forms of lingual *ṉ* and dental *ṉ* are used—one which is comparatively older, and the other in which the loops are fully developed.[2] In A, the former is used more generally than in B. The distinction between medial *ā* and *r*, which is not found in later Tamil inscriptions, is observed in a large majority of cases. The *ā* is a short vertical stroke, while *r*, which is similar, occupies the full height of the line. But this distinction is not so carefully observed in B—particularly in the second half of it. Very often the secondary *ā* is a curve added to the right side of the consonant to which it belongs, *e.g.*, *ā* of *vāriya* in l. 2 of A; of *uḍaiyar=āy* in l. 5 of A; of *iḍuvad=āgavum* in l. 9 of A and of *vēḻān* in l. 12 of A. Double *k* is sometimes written as a group. As in other Tamil inscriptions, secondary *ī* and *ū* (combined with the consonants *m*, *ḻ*, *ḍ*, *ḷ* and *r*) are, as a rule, not distinguished from *i* and *u*. But I have inserted the length wherever it is required in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily.

As regards orthography, the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *cantra*, *dēvēntra* (l. 11 of A and l. 16 of B) and similar words, as in other Tamil inscriptions, while the hard *k* takes the place of the soft *g* in °*maṁkala*° (l. 18 of B). The palatal sibilant is used for the hard palatal in *śauśa* (for *śauca*) (ll. 5 of A; 4 and 15 of B) and *śaridai* (for *caritai*) (l. 16 of B). Both the letter *m* and the nasal into which it is altered on account of *sandhi* are retained in *vāriyamñjeygiṉṟa* (l. 9 of A), *pādagamñśeydu* and *prāyaścittamñceydu* (l. 8 of B) and *pērilumndōṭṭa*° (l. 11 of B). The nasalisation of the dental *t* before *m* in the middle of a word occurs in *ānma*° (l. 4 of B) and the palatalisation of the dental *d* in *vijyā*° (l. 11 of B).

The language is Tamil prose intermixed with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha. A few Tamil words are also written in Grantha. The following peculiarities of the language require to be noted. The termination *ār* or *āṉ* is used in a number of cases where *ar* or *aṉ* would be enough in modern Tamil, *e.g.* *paṉṉiruvārum* (l. 7 of A), *paṉṉiruvārilum* and *aṟuvār* (l. 10 of A), *māmāṉ* (l. 5 of B) and *aṟuvār* (l. 14 of B). *Mēlpāṭṭār* (l. 4 of A), *Pārāntakadēvan* (l. 1 of B), *makkaḷaiyūm* (l. 5 of B), *paradrāvyam* (l. 7 of B) and *māhāsabhai* (ll. 9 and 10 of B) are evidently mistakes for *mēlpaṭṭār*, *Parāntakadēvan*, *makkaḷaiyum*, *paradravyam* and *mahāsabhai*. The Sanskṛit word *ājñā* occurs in its transitional form *āñai* (ll. 1 and 12 of A; l. 17 of B), which is anterior to its assimilation in Tamil in the form *āṇai*, while *viddha* (ll. 10 and 12 of B) occurs as a *tadbhava* of *vṛddha*. Forms like *ilāttār* (l. 5 of A and l. 4 of B), *allāttār* and *aṟiyāttāṉ* (l. 6 of A), *peṟāttār* (l. 6 of B) are found in Malayāḷam, while their modern representatives in Tamil are *ilādār*, *allādār*, *aṟiyādāṉ* and *peṟādār*. Forms like *iḍuvida* (l. 3 of B), *koḷvidu* (l. 12 of B),

[1] A number of inscriptions of Parāntaka I. have already been published. Four in the Tamil alphabet have been edited with photo-lithographs. Of these one is on copper-plates (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, pp. 375-90), while the other three are stone inscriptions (*ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 18 to 20; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 280 f. and plate facing p. 284; and Vol. VII, p. 141, and E and F on plate facing p. 144). One in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet has also been edited from Śucindram in South Travancore (*ibid.* Vol. V, p. 43). The endorsement on the plates of Nandivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, plates facing p. 168) belongs also to his reign, while that of the inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamalla *ibid.* plates facing p. 274) purport to belong to his reign, though the alphabet is perhaps slightly later.

[2] Compare *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 90.

koḻuvidu (l. 4 of B) and *āvidu* (ll. 7 and 10 of A), though not uncommon in the language of inscriptions, do not occur in the literary dialect of Tamil.[1] The addition of *y* after an *i*, *ē* or *ai* at the end of a word is allowed even in literary Tamil, and this is found in a large number of cases, *e.g. kuḍumbilārēy* (l. 3 of A), *iruppāṇaiy* (l. 4 of A), *vaḻiyēy* (l. 6 of A), *miṉbēy* (l. 7 of A), *maṇḍagattilēy* and *naḍuvēy* (l. 10 of B) and *kuḍavōlaiy* (l. 13 of B). Cases of its insertion in the middle of a word are not quite so common. But they occur in the following words :—*ōduviytt=aṟiyvāṉ* (l. 3 of B), *aṟiyvāṉ* (l. 4 of B) and *aṇaiyvar* (ll. 8 and 9 of B). *Y* is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened in *śēda* (l. 2 of B) and *śēdu* (ll. 8 and 16 of B). Consonants are doubled in a number of cases where one would not expect them[2] according to grammatical rules :—*agamm=eḍuttu* (l. 3 of B), *=āṟṟāll=eḍuttu* (l. 10 of B), *anantaramm=iḍum* (l. 13 of B), *śauśamm=uḍaiyāṉ* (l. 15 of B), *bhaṭṭaṇṇ=āgiya* (l. 17 of B) where *m*, *l*, *m* and *ṇ* are wrongly doubled. *Āñaiāl* for *āñaiyāl* (l. 16 f. of B) is a case where the ordinary *sandhi* rule is ignored.[3]

The vulgar form *āccidiṉ* occurs for *āṇadiṉ* in l. 15 of B; *paṟiccu* (l. 9 of A) for *paṟittu*; *oḻinśa* (l. 9 of A) for *oḻinda*; *ittiṇai* (l. 6 of B) for *ittuṇai*; and *añju* (l. 11 of B) for *aindu*. The word *śuddharāṇāṉ* (in l. 7 B) is logically wrong. It must be either *śuddharāṇār* or *śuddhaṇāṇāṉ*. The accusative *saṁvatsara-vāriyaraiyum* is wrongly used (in l. 12 B) for the nominative *°vāriyar=āgavum*. The form *śeyyāgiṉṟār* (l. 12 of B) is perhaps a mistake for *śeyyāniṉṟār*, which is a recognised verbal noun of the present tense. The reading seems to admit of no doubt. But it is not impossible that the engraver has corrected *ki* into *ni*. *Paṇiraḍu* (l. 1 of A), if it is not a pure mistake, is almost the same as the Haḷe-Kannaḍa *panneraḍu*.

The Cōḷa king Parāntaka I., in whose reign the two subjoined inscriptions were engraved, was a strong and powerful ruler. He took Madura, the Pāṇḍya capital, and defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha.[4] The capture of Madura was perpetuated by the title 'conqueror of Madura' (*Madiraikoṇḍa*), which is found already in inscriptions of his 3rd year=909-10.[5] His proper name was Parakēsarivarman, and, in order to distinguish himself from his grandfather Vijayālaya, who must have borne the same name,[6] the epithet 'conqueror of Madura' was added. That he actually conquered the Pāṇḍya country is proved by the inscriptions of his reign found in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts. In the north, his dominions extended as far as Kālahasti in the North Arcot district.[7] In the west an inscription of his reign has been found at Sōmūr in the Coimbatore district.[8] The Western Gaṅga king Pṛthivīpati II., whose dominions lay partly in the Mysore State, was his feudatory.[9] Parāntaka claims to have uprooted the Bāṇas and to have presented their dominions to Pṛthivīpati. The Cōḷa dominions in the west must have been strengthened by Parāntaka's

[1] See the Tamil grammar *Vīraśōḻiyam*, Damodaram Pillai's edition, p. 63.

[2] Compare *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 321.

[3] See my remarks on the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 68 f., and Professor Hultzsch's notes on the Śiyamaṅgalam inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 320.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

[5] See the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 32.

[6] The Cōḷa kings were called Rājakēsarivarman and Parakēsarivarman alternately.

[7] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, p. 25, No. 230. There is also an unfinished inscription of his reign in the temple at Kālahasti.

[8] No. 68 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1890.

[9] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 381.

marriage with the daughter of the Kēraḷa king.[1] Inscriptions belonging to the latter part of his reign add the conquest of Ceylon to that of Madura.[2] We may therefore conclude that he at least made a victorious inroad into the island of Ceylon.[3] Parāntaka I. claims also to have defeated the Vaidumba king,[4] whose dominions appear to have been in the Cuddapah district.[5] But unless this claim is supported by inscriptions of his reign found there, we cannot accept it. According to the latest researches, Parāntaka I. commenced to reign in A.D. 907[6] and continued until at least A.D. 947-8.[7] As we have seen that he conquered the Pāṇḍyas, befriended the Kēraḷas, and subdued the Western Gaṅgas, the only power that could give him any trouble were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12) was still ruling when Parāntaka ascended the throne, and his reign witnessed the accession of four Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, among whom there appear to have been some internal dissensions. Of these five, two were at war with the Eastern Calukyas of Vēṅgī. Consequently no disturbance appears to have been possible from that quarter.

It may therefore be supposed that Parāntaka I. was the undisputed sovereign of the greater portion of the Tamil country, if not of the whole of it. His frequent wars with the Pāṇḍyas, of which three are at present known,[8] only show his strength and determination to subdue his enemies. Though he was probably tolerant of all religions in his dominions, he is known to have followed the Śaiva creed, as he utilised all the booty acquired in his wars in covering with gold the temple of Śiva at Cidambaram in the South Arcot district.[9]

The foregoing facts warrant the belief that the Cōḷa dominions enjoyed peace during the reign of Parāntaka I. and that he could therefore devote his time to questions of internal administration. Whether the king made the best use of his opportunity and what were actually the 'triumphs of peace' which the country owed to him, are matters on which our information is naturally imperfect. But we have reason to suppose that local administration was very near being wrecked in an important village not far from the premier city of the Cōḷa dominions.[10] The rules regulating the constitution of village assemblies and the method of selection of committee members seem to have been lax, and unscrupulous and ignorant men appear to have taken advantage of the opportunity to embezzle communal funds, and would not render accounts. The king deputed one of his Śūdra officers, with special instructions, in A.D. 918-9, to set matters

---

[1] *South-Ind. Incrs.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

[2] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-05, Part II, paragraph 8.

[3] Parāntaka seems to have fought twice against the Singhalese. The first fight must have taken place in or before the fifteenth year of his reign, when Rājasiṁha-Pāṇḍya seems to have been defeated along with the "immense army despatched by the lord of Laṅkā" (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 387). The second appears to have taken place towards the close of Parāntaka's reign and is referred to in his Tamil inscriptions (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-05, paragraph 8). The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that a Pāṇḍya king, who was attacked by the Cōḷa, applied for help to Kassapa V., king of Ceylon (A.D. 929-39). This may be taken to refer to the second war, when Parāntaka is reported to have invaded Ceylon. But, as the *Mahāvaṁsa* is not very strong in its chronology, we cannot be quite sure on this point.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 106.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 261.

[7] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 31.

[8] *Ibid.* paragraphs 32—34.

[9] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

[10] *I.e.* Conjeeveram, 16 miles north by west of Uttaramallūr.

right. Owing, perhaps, to his want of experience and to the excitement of the villagers over the evil doings of the 'wicked men' of the village, the rules which he promulgated (A below) must have made matters worse, and the consequences of his mistakes were felt during the second year the rules were in operation. The king had to depute a Brāhmaṇa officer of his from the Cōḷa country to improve upon the system devised more than a year ago. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of the king's reign (A.D. 920-21) a carefully worked out set of rules (B below) was framed and promulgated in order that the 'wicked men of the village might perish and the rest prosper.' The rules leave no doubt whatever as to who the wicked men were and wherein their wickedness lay.

It is here necessary to warn the reader against the impression that the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I. started the system of village administration by assemblies and committees. Inscriptions prior to his reign bear ample testimony to their existence. The great men of the 'annual committee' are mentioned as the trustees of an endowment in an inscription of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Kampavarman (ninth century A.D.),[1] and village assemblies are referred to in several inscriptions of the Pallava period. 'The committee of the assembly' is spoken of in an inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja at Ambāsamudram,[2] who reigned probably at the beginning of the ninth century A.D., while the *pañcavārī* and *vāragōṣṭhi* (*committee-assembly*) are mentioned in an Eastern Calukya copper-plate grant [3] of the first-half of the tenth century A.D. from the Kistna district. The system therefore seems to have been in operation almost throughout Southern India at the beginning of the tenth century A.D.[4] It is, however, doubtful if the details were the same in all places where the system prevailed[5].

From the translation[6] which accompanies the text of both inscriptions, it will be seen that the later one (B below) dated in A.D. 920-21 is drafted with much greater care than the earlier one (A below). One point that is common in both is the implied indignation against the committee members who had just then vacated office and who

---

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 9.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 86 and footnote 9.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 138.

[4] The Tanjore inscriptions of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to 1013) mention not less than 150 villages which had assemblies and 40 others where the villagers, as a body, seem to have managed their affairs. The system must have been in operation in thousands of other villages whose names and whose exact number remain to be disclosed by future researches. Neither the period nor the circumstances under which village assemblies arose in Southern India are known. But as the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, in his account of Indian administration as it obtained at his time, makes mention of six committees of five each, it may be supposed that the system was carried into Southern India by the Aryan immigrants and that slight alterations were probably made to suit the conditions of the South. It looks as if the system of administration by committees was employed only in villages. The few towns and cities which existed appear to have been governed differently.

[5] The number of committees of village assemblies does not appear to have been the same everywhere. Local conditions seem to have influenced the number very much. In the subjoined inscriptions provision is made for five committees :—'annual committee,' 'garden committee,' 'tank committee,' 'gold committee,' and 'pañcavāra committee.' Reference is also made to a sixth committee, *viz.*, 'justice committee.' But it is not said if it was a separate body or if it was identical with one of the above-mentioned five. Inscriptions found at Tiruppāṟkaḍal near Kāvēripāk in the North Arcot district furnish the names of five more committees, *viz.*, 'the great men of the wards-committee,' 'the great men of the fields-committee,' 'the great men (numbering) two hundred,' 'the great men of the village-committee', and 'the great men of the udāsina-committee.' (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, Part II, paragraph 7.)

[6] In the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1898-99, paragraphs 61 to 67, I gave a free translation of the later record (B) and in paragraph 68 pointed out the differences between the two.

appear to have brought the administration of the village into disrepute. They must have embezzled communal funds and would not submit themselves to any sort of scrutiny. The wholesale condemnation in A of committee members who held office at the time the rules were made, is sufficient evidence on the point. This clause must have operated harshly during the second year of its introduction and must have restricted the choice within a smaller number, who might not possess all the requisite qualifications. In view of this difficulty better counsel prevailed in A.D. 920-21, and the prohibition was restricted only to defaulting committee members and their relations.

The later inscription (B below) may be divided into the following sections:—(1) qualifications of committee members (ll. 2 to 4). (2) Disqualified persons: (*a*) defaulting committee members and their relations however remote (ll. 4 to 6); (*b*) incorrigible sinners and their relations however remote (l. 6); (*c*) outcastes until they perform the necessary expiatory ceremonies (ll. 6-7); (*d*) those who are mentally or morally disqualified (l. 7); (*e*) those who are themselves disqualified but do not transmit their disqualification to their relatives (ll. 7-8). (3) Method of selection of committee members (ll. 9-11). (4) Number of committees to be appointed annually (ll. 11 to 13). (5) Two others which were perhaps not annually appointed (ll. 13—15). (6) Appointment of accountants (ll. 15-16). It will thus be seen that the document was drawn up with a definite plan and follows a natural order in the arrangement of its various parts.

The duties performed by the committees are not known precisely. The names of some of them indicate roughly their spheres of work. For instance, the tank committee was probably entrusted with the annual removal of silt, occasional repairs, investment of endowments made to tanks, and similar questions. The gold committee probably regulated the currency. Committee members were expected to take an active part in discussing questions brought before them. In fact, an inscription from the Telugu country refers to eloquence at committee assemblies as a special merit. The age restriction, the educational and property qualifications laid down, and the principle of membership by rotation are items which may commend themselves even to modern administrators. The method adopted for choosing committee members is one of casting lots, which was followed by all primitive communities.

A.—TEXT.[1]

1 Svasti śrī [॥*] [Madi]r[ai]-koṇ[ḍa kō=Ppa]rakēśarivammarkku yāṇḍu paṇiraḍu āvadu [॥*] Uttiramēruccatu[r]vvē[d]immaṅgalattu[2] sabh[ai]yō[m] ivv-āṇḍu mudal e[ṅ]gal=ūr[3] śrīmukappaḍi āñai-

2 yi[ṉ]āl Tattanū[r- M]ūvē[nda]vēlāṉ irundu [4]v[ā]riyam=[ā]ga āṭṭ=orukkālum [5]samma[vā]tasara- v[ā]riyamun=dōṭṭa-vāriyamum [6][ēri]-vā[riya]mum iḍuvadaṟku vyavas[thai] śey-

[1] From two impressions prepared in 1898.

[2] Read °*caturvēdimaṅgalattu.*

[3] The *akṣaras śrīmuka* are Grantha.

[4] In the *akṣaras vā* and *mā* of this word, the length appears to have been subsequently inserted by the engraver; also the length *ā* of *ṭṭo* in *āṭṭ-oru.*

[5] Read *saṁvatsara-.*

[6] The remainder of the line is engraved over an erasure.

3 da pariś=āvadu [।*] kuḍumbu mup[pad=āy] muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava-kuḍu[m*]bilā[rē]y kūḍi kā=ṉi[la]ttukku mēl iṟai-nilam [1] uḍaiyāṉ taṉ maṉaiyilē a-

4 gam eḍuttukoṇḍu irup[pāṉaiy] aṟ[u]ba[du pi]rā[ya*]ttukku[2] ul muppadu pirāyattukku melpāṭṭār[3] vēdattilum śāstrattilum kā[r]yyattilum nipuṇar=eṉṉappaṭ=i-

5 ruppārai a[r*]ttha-śauśamum āt[ma]-ś[au]śamum uḍaiyar=āy mūv-[ā]ṭṭiṉ i-ppaṟam[4] vāriyañ=jey[di]l[ā]tt[ā]r [v]āriyañ=jeyd=oḻinda [p]erumakk[5] uḷukku[6]

6 [7] aṉiya [8]bandukkal [9]allāttār[ai]= [10]kkuḍav-ōlaikku=ppēr tīṭṭi= [11]śadēri-vaḻiyēy tirat[ti] pa[ṉ]ṉiraṇḍu śēriyilum śēriyāl oru-pē[r-ām-āṟu] ēdum=uru[v=a]ṟiyāttāṉ=oru-[12]

7 bāla[ṉai]=kkoṇḍu kuḍav-ōlai [v]āṅguvi[t]tu=ppaṉṉiruvārum [13]sama[vatsa]ra-vāriyam=āvid=āgavum [।*] a[di]ṉ miṉbēy tōṭṭa-vāriyattukku mēṟpaḍi ku[ḍa]v-[ē][14]-

8 [15]lai vāṅgi=ppaṉṉiruvarum tōṭṭa-vāriyam=[ā]vad=ā[ga]vum [।*] niṉṟa [a]ṟu-[kuḍa]v- ōlaiy[u]m ēri-vāriya[m = ā*]-

9 vad=āgavum=ap[pā]du[16] kuḍav-[ē]lai[17] pa[ri]ccu v[ā]riyamñ[18] śeygiṉ[ṟa*] mūṉṟu [t]iṟattu v[ā]riyamum munnuṟ-a[ṟubadu][19] n[ālu]m [ni]ṟam[ba*] [v]āriyam oḻin[śa][20] aṉan[ta]ra[m] idu[m vā]r[i]yaṅgal [i-vya]vasthai[y-ō][lai*]ppaḍiyēy kuḍumbukku=[21]kkuḍav-ōlai iṭṭu =[22]kkuḍav-ōlai pa[ric]cuk[ko]ṇḍ[ē]y vā[ri]yam [i]ḍuvad=āgavum [।*] vāriyañ=jeydār[k*]ku bandhukkaḷum ś[ē]rigaḷil a[nyōnya]mm[ē] * * *[23]

10 m kuḍav-ōlaiyi[l] pēr eḻudi i[ḍa]ppaḍādār=[ā]gavum [।*] pañjavāra-vāri-[ya]ttukkum poṉ-vāriyattukkum[24] muppadu kuḍu[m]b[i]lum mup[padu] kuḍa[v-ō]lai iṭṭu śēriyāl o[ru]ttarai= kkuḍav-ōlai pari[t]tu paṉṉiruvārilum [a]ṟuvār [pa]ñja[vāra*]-vāriyam= [25]avid=āgavum [।*] aṟuvār p[oṉ]-vāriyam=avidagavu[m][26] [।*] [27]samavatsara-vāri[ya*]m allātta[28]

11 vāriya[ṅ]gal [o]ṟukkāl śeydā[rai pi]ṉṉai a-[v]vāriyattukku kuḍav-ō[lai] iḍa=ppeṟuttidāgam[29][।*][i]-ppariśēy=ivv-āṇḍu mudal ca[ntr]ā[ditta]vat e[ṉ]ṟum [ku]ḍav-ōlai [vāri]yamēy iḍuvadaga[30] Dēvēntraṉ ca[kra]vatti[31] [śrī][32] Vīranārāyaṇaṉ śrī-Parāntakadēvar=āgi[ya] Parakēsariva[r]mar śrīmugam a[ru]lucceydu[33] va[rakk]āṭṭa

---

[1] The *ai* of *ḍai* is unusual as it is made like the *ai* now added to ṉ, ḷ and l; also that of *ḍai* in line 5.

[2] The *pi* is corrected from *tu*.

[3] Read *mēlpaṭṭār*.

[4] Read *i-ppuṟam*.

[5] The *kku* is written as a group.

[6] Read °*makkaḷukku*.

[7] The syllable *ṉi* is corrected from *ṉā*.

[8] Read *bandhu*°; the writer seems to have inserted an *anusvāra* between *ba* and *ndu*.

[9] The initial *a* of this word is peculiar and resembles the Tamil *akṣara śu*.

[10] The *kku* is written as a group.

[11] Read *tiṭṭi=ccēri*°.

[12] The letter *ṉā* of *ṉa* looks like *ña*.

[13] The *akṣaras rum sa* are engraved over an erasure; read *saṁvatsara*-.

[14] The *ē* of *vō* looks like *ai*; read *kuḍav-ōlai*.

[15] This line is a short one, beginning in the original just below *m samavatsara* of the previous line.

[16] Read °*vad-āgavu=muppadu*.

[17] There is some unaccountable space between the *akṣaras ḍa* and *vē*, which may be occupied by an indistinct *v*, though it is grammatically wrong; read *kuḍav-ōlai*.

[18] Cancel the palatal *ñ*.

[19] Read *munnūṟṟ-aṟubadu*; the syllables *badu* are written over an erasure.

[20] Read *oḻinda*.

[21] The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

[22] The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

[23] Perhaps °*mē avaru* is the intended reading.

[24] The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

[25] Read =*āvad-āgavum*.

[26] Read-*āvad=āgavum*.

[27] Read *saṁvat*°.

[28] A cross is here entered in the original to show that the writing which at first sight appears to be in continuation of this line has to be read after line 11.

[29] Read °*peṟādad-āgavum*.

[30] Read *iḍuvad=āga*.

[31] The syllable *tti* is written as a group.

[32] The symbol transcribed here by *śrī* is damaged and the existing traces look like *pri* or *vri* which gives no sense.

[33] Read *aruḷicceydu*.

12 śrī-āñaiyiṉāl Tattanūr-Mū[vē]nda[vē]lāṉ-uḍaṉ-irukka nam grāmatt[u du]ṣṭai koṭṭu[1] śiṣṭar varddhi[tti]ḍuvār-āga [vyava]sthai śey[dō]m [Ut]taramē[ru*]-[2]cca[turvv]ēnimaṅgalat[tu] sabh[ai]yōm [॥*]

A.—Translation.

(Lines 1 to 3.)—Hail! Prosperity! In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman, who conquered Madirai (*i.e.* Madura),—We, (the members of) the assembly of Uttiramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam, made[3] the following settlement, in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the royal letter (addressed) to our village,—Tattaṉūr Mūvēndavēlāṉ sitting (with us) and convening(?) the committee[4],—for choosing once annually from this year forward (members for) the 'annual committee', 'garden committee', and 'tank committee':—

(Lines 3 to 6.)—There shall be thirty wards[5]; in (these) thirty wards, the residents of each ward shall assemble and write down names for pot-tickets (*kuḍav-ōlai*) from among (the residents) who have not been on (any of) the committees for the last three years[6] and who are not close relations[7] of the great men (just) retired from the committees.[8] (The name may be put down of any) one,[9] who owns more than a quarter (*vēli*) of tax-paying land; is living in a house built on his own site; is below the age of sixty and above thirty; is known to be learned in the Vedas and *śāstras* and to be conversant with business; possesses honest earnings and has a pure mind.

(Lines 6 to 9.)—(The tickets bearing the names) shall be collected in (each) street (*śēri*); (one) pot-ticket shall be caused to be drawn by a young boy, who cannot distinguish any forms,[10] and thus one name obtained for each of the twelve streets.[11] The twelve men (thus chosen) shall constitute the 'annual committee.' Subsequent to this,[12] pot-tickets shall be drawn for the 'garden committee' similarly and the twelve men (thus chosen) shall be the 'garden committee.' The remaining six pot-tickets shall represent the 'tank committee.'

(Line 9.)—The three committees[13] doing duty (after their appointment) by drawing thirty pot-tickets (shall continue) for full three hundred and sixty days. The committees to be appointed after they retire shall be chosen by allotting pot-tickets to (each) ward (*kuḍumbu*) and by drawing pot-tickets according to this order of settlement.

---

[1] Read *keṭṭu*.

[2] Read *-caturvēdi*.

[3] The wording of line 12 seems to show that the settlement was made by the assembly, though the point is not quite clear here.

[4] *Vāriyam* is apparently the same as *vāra* or *vāri*, which Professor Kielhorn has translated by 'committee'; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 138.

[5] According to Winslow *kuḍumbu* means 'a bunch or cluster of fruits, flowers, *etc.*' The word appears here to be used in a wider sense than the Sanskrt *kuṭumba*, 'family.' I have, therefore, tentatively translated it by 'ward.'

[6] Literally, 'on this side of three years.'

[7] The prohibited relations are specified in detail in the later inscription.

[8] This wholesale condemnation of the men who had (just) retired from the committees is altered in the later inscription, where the prohibition is restricted to defaulting committee members and their relations.

[9] Anybody possessing these qualifications who came under the proviso mentioned in the preceding sentence would, of course, not be chosen. His name could not be written on the ticket.

[10] *I.e.*, who knows no writing and cannot distinguish one ticket from another.

[11] The method of drawing tickets is fully described in the later inscription.

[12] The original has *adiṉ miṉṉey*, which means literally 'before that.'

[13] Literally 'three kinds of committees.'

The relations of those who have been on the committees . . . . reciprocally in the streets . . . . names shall not be written on the pot-tickets and put (into the pot).

(Line 10.)—For the '*Pañcavāra* committee' and the 'gold committee' thirty pot-tickets shall be allotted to the thirty wards and one man (shall be chosen) in each of the (twelve) streets (*śēri*) by drawing pot-tickets. Out of the twelve (thus chosen) six shall form the '*Pañcavāra* committee' and six the 'gold committee.'

(Line 11.)—Those who have once served on (any of) the committees other than the 'annual committee' shall not have pot-tickets (with their names) put (into the pot in choosing men) for that committee subsequently.

(Lines 11 to 12.)—The royal letter which the lord of gods,[1] the emperor, the glorious Vīranārāyaṇa, the glorious Parāntakadēva *alias* Parakēsarivarman was pleased to issue to the effect that committees should from this year forward be invariably chosen in this way (by drawing) pot-tickets, for ever and as long as the moon and the sun, having been received and made known to us,—We, (the members of) the assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam, made (this) settlement,—Tattaṉūr Mūvēndavēlāṉ sitting with us by royal order,—in order that the wicked men of our village may perish and the rest prosper.

B.—TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti śrī [11*] Madirai-koṇḍa kō Parakēsarivanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu padiṉālāvadu nāl padiṉ-āṟu [11*] Kāliyūr-kōṭṭattu taṉ-kuṟṟu[3] Uttaramēru-ccatu[r*]vvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-āṇḍu mudal [e]ṅgaḷukku Peru[m]āṉ-aḍigaḷ Emberumāṉ śrī-Vīranārāyaṇan śrī-[4]Pārāntakadēvan [śrī]-Parakēsarivanmaruḍaiya śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi ā-

2 jñaiyiṉāl Śōḷa-nāṭṭu=Ppuṟaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvaṅganagar=Kkarañjai-Koṇḍaya-kramavitta-bhaṭṭan=āgiya Sōmāśiperumān irundu vāriyam=āga āṭ[ṭ=[5]o]rukk[ā]lum [6]samavatsara-vāriyamu[m*] tōṭṭa-vāriyamum ēri-vāriyamum iḍuvadaṟkku vyavasthai śēda pariś=ā[va]du [1*] kuḍumbu muppadā=muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava kuḍummilā[7]-

3 rē kūḍi=kkā=nilattukku mēl iṟai-nilam=uḍaiyāṉ taṉ maṉaiyilē agamm=eḍuttu-kkoṇḍ=iruppāṉai eḷubadu pirāyattiṉ kīḻ muppattaindu pirāyattiṉ mēṟpaṭṭār mantra-brāhmaṇam vallan ōduviytt=aṟiyvāṉai=kkuḍav-ōlai iḍuvid=āgavum [1*] arai-kkā=nilamē uḍaiyan=āyilu[m*] oru-vēdam vallan=āy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru-bhā-

4 ṣyam vakkāṉitt=aṟiyvāṉ avaṉaiyuṅ=guḍav-ōlai eḷudi=ppuga iḍuvad=āgavum [1*] avargaḷilum kā[r≠]yyattil nipuṇar=āy āśāram=uḍaiyarāṉāraiyēy koḷuvid=āgavum [1*] a[r*]ttha-śauśamu[m*] ānma-śaucamum uḍaiyar=āy mūv-āṭṭiṉ=i-ppuṟam vāriya[ñ]=jeydilāttārai kolvad=āgavum [1*] eppērppaṭṭa vāriyaṅgaḷum śe[y]du kaṇakku=kkāṭṭādē irundāraiyum ivargaḷukku=cciṟṟ-avai=ppēr-avai ma-

5 kkaḷaiyum ivargaḷukku attai māmāṉ makkaḷaiyūm[8] iva[r*]gaḷukku=ttāyōḍu uḍappiṟaṇḍāḷaiyum[9] ivargaḷ tama[p]paṉōḍ=uḍappiṟandāṉaiyu[m] taṉṉōḍ=uḍappiṟandāṉ-

---

[1] This title, which is repeated in B, is meaningless, because no king, however great, could be called the 'lord of gods.'

[2] From two impressions prepared in 1898.

[3] Read -*kūṟṟu*.

[4] Read -*Parāntaka*.°

[5] The syllable *ṭo* is corrected from *me*.

[6] Read *saṁvatsara*-.

[7] Read *kuḍumbi*.°

[8] Read *makkaḷaiyum*.

[9] [10] Read °*piṟandāṉaiyum*.

aiyum ivargaḷukku=ppiḷḷai kuḍutta māmaṇaiyum ivargaḷ brāhmaṇiyōḍ[1]=uḍappiṟandaṇ-aiyu [2] taṇṇōḍ=uḍappiṟaṇḍāḷai vēṭṭāṇaiyu[m*] uḍappiṟaṇ[dā]l makkaḷaiyum taṇ magaḷai vēṭṭa marugaṇaiyum taṇ tamappaṇaiyum

6 taṇ magaṇaiyum āga i=ccuṭṭa * * * * *[3] bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḻudi=ppu-[ga] iḍa=p[pe]ṟāttār=āgavum [1*] agamyāgamaṇattilum mahāpādagaṅgaḷ[i]l muṇb=aḍain[ta][4] nālu mahāpādagattilumm=eḻuttuppaṭṭāraiyum iva[galu]kkum mun śuṭṭa-ppaṭṭa ittiṇai bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḻud[i]=ppuga [i]ḍa=ppeṟādā[r=ā]gavum [1*] sa[ṁsar]gga-[pa]* [ta]rai[5] prāyaścittañ=jeyyum-aḷa[vu]m

7 kuḍav-ōlai iḍādad=āgavum * * * * * diyum sāhasiyar=āy=iruppāraiyum kuḍa-[v-ō]lai eḻudi=ppugav=iḍa=ppeṟādār=āgavum[1*] paradrāvyam [6] apaharittāṇaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḻudi=ppugav=iḍa=ppeṟādār=āgavum [1*] e[ppē]ṟppaṭṭa kaiyyūṭṭu[ṅ]=goṇ-ḍāṇ kṛ[ta]-prāyaścittañ=[7] caiydu śuddhar=āṇāṇaiyu[m][8] avvavar prāṇān[t]ikam

8 vāriyattukku=kkuḍav-ōlaiy [9]=eḻudi puga[v=iḍa=ppeṟādad=āgavum] ***pādagamñ[10] śeydu [11] prāyaccit[ta]ñ=jeydu śuddhar=[ā]ṇāraiyum grāma-kaṇḍagar=āy [12] prāyaśi[ttañ]=[13] cēdu śu[d]dhar=āṇāraiyu[m*] agamyāgamaṇam [14] [śē]du prāya[ści]ttamñ[15]=ceydu[16] śuddhar=āṇāraiyum āga i-ccuṭṭappaṭṭa aṇ[ai]yvaraiyum prāṇā[nti]kam vār[i]yattukku=kkuḍav-ōlai eḻud[i]=ppugav=iḍa=ppeṟādad=āga-

9 vum [1*] āga i-ccuṭṭappaṭṭa [17]ittaṇaiyvaraiyum nīkki i-mmuppadu kuḍum[bilu]m kuḍav-ōlaikku=ppēr tīṭṭi i-ppaṇṇiraṇḍu śēriyilum=āga i-kkuḍumbum vevvēṟēy vāy-ōlai pūṭṭi muppadu [18] kuḍumbum vevvēṟē kaṭṭi=kkuḍam puga [iḍu]vad=āgavum [1*] kuḍav-ōlai parikkum[bō]du [19] māhāsabhai=ttiruvaḍiyārai sabālavirurddham[20] niram[ba]=kkūṭṭi-oṇḍu aṇṟ=uḷḷūril irunta[21] nambimār oruvaraiyum oḻiyā-

10 mē [22] māhāsabhaiyilē uḷm [23] maṇḍagattilēy irutti-kkoṇḍu a-nnambimār naḍuvēy a-kkuḍattai nam[b]imā[gi]l[24] viddhar=āy [25] iruppārr [26]=oru-[na]mbi mēl nōkki [e]llā[27]-jjaṇa-muṅ=gāṇum-āṟṟāll[28] =eḍuttu-kkoṇḍu niṟkka[29] pagalēy=[30]antaram=aṟiyādāṇṇ[31]=oru-pālaṇai=kkoṇḍu oru-kuḍumbu vāṅ[giy] maṟṟ=oru-kuḍattukkēy pugav=iṭṭu=kkulaittu a-kkuḍattill[32]=ōr-ōlai vāṅgi maddhyasthaṇ kaiyilē

11 [ku]ḍuppad=āgavum [1*] a-kkuḍu[t*]tav=[ō]lai madhyasthaṇ vāṅgumbōdu añju viralum agala vaittu uḷḷaṅgaiyilē ēṟṟu-kkolv[ā]ṇ=āgavum [1*] avv-ēṟṟu

---

1 The syllable *ṇi* is corrected from *ṇā*.
2 The syllable *ṇai* appears to be corrected from *ḷai*; read °*piṟandāṇaiyum*.
3 The missing portion is probably *ppaṭṭa ittiṇai*, as in the later portion of this line.
4 The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read =*aḍainda*.
5 Read °*patitarai*.
6 Read °*dravyam*.
7 The syllable *ścai* is a Grantha group in the original; read =*jeydu*.
8 Read either *śuddhaṇ=āṇāṇaiyum* or *śuddhar=āṇāraiyum*.
9 A second superfluous *lai* is engraved below the line beneath the *lai* of *ōlai*.
10 Cancel the palatal *ñ*.
11 The *ā* of *prā* is entered below the line.
12 Read *prāyaścittañ*=
13 The syllable *ścē* is a Grantha group in the original; read =*jēdu*.
14 The letter *śē* is Grantha in the original.
15 Cancel the *m*.
16 The syllable *ścē* is a Grantha group in the original; read =*jeydu*.
17 Above the two letters *tta* is an erased *lai*; see note 9, above.
18 The akṣara *ḍu* is corrected from *m*.
19 Read *mahāsabhai*=.
20 Read °*vṛddham*.
21 The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *irunda*.
22 Read *mahāsabhai*°.
23 The letter *m* seems to be a correction from *var*.
24 Read *nambimāril*.
25 Read *vṛddhar=āy*.
26 Cancel the first *r*.
27 Cancel the first *j*.
28 Cancel the first *l*.
29 Cancel the first *k*.
30 The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.
31 Cancel the first *ṇ*
32 Cancel the first *l*.

vā[ṅ]giṇav=ōlai v[ā]śippāṉ=āgavum [1*] [1] vāśitta avv-ōlai aṅg-uḷ-[2] [ma]ṇḍagatt=irunta[3] nambimār ellārum vāśippār=āgavum [1*] vāśitta[4] a-ppēr tīṭṭuvad=āgavum [1*] i-ppariśē[5] muppadu kuḍumbilu[m] ōrō-pēr k[o]lvad=āgavum [1*] i-kkoṇḍa [mu]ppadu pērilumn[6] =tōṭṭa-vāriyamu[m] ēri-vāriyamum śeydāraiyum [vi]jyā-vṛddha[rai]yum[7]

12 vayō-[8] [vi]ddhargaḷaiyum [9]samavatsara-vāriyaraiyum koḷvad=āgavum [1*] mikku niṉṟāru[p][10] paṉṉiruvarai=ttōṭṭa-vāriyaṅ=golvi[d=ā]gavum [1*] niṉṟa aṟuvarai-yumm[11] ēri-vāriyam=āga=kkoḷvad=āgavum [1*] ivv-iraṇḍu [t]iṟattu vāriyamu[m] karai kāṭṭi [12]koḷvad=[ā]gavu[m] [1*] i-vāriyam śeygi[ṉ]ṟa mūṉṟu [t]iṟattu vāriya=pperumak-kaḷum muṉṉū[ṟṟu-a]ṟu[ba]du n[ā]ḷum nira[m]ba=cceydu oḻivad=[ā]gavum [1*] vāriyañ=jeyyāgiṉṟārai[13] aparādaṅ=

13 gaṇḍapōdu avaṉaiy=oḻ[i]ttuvad=āgavum [1*] ivagaḷ oḻi[nta][14] aṉantaramm[15]= iḍum vāriyaṅgaḷum pa[ṉṉiraṇ]ḍu śēriyilum dhanma[kr]ṛttyaṅ[16]=gaḍaikkāṉum vāriyarē madhyastharai=kkoṇḍu kuṟ[i] kūṭṭ[i]=kkuḍuppār=āga[vu]m [1*] i-vyavasthaiy=ōlaip-padiyēy * * * * [k]ku=kkuḍav-ōlaiy paṟittu-k[k]o[ṇḍē vāri]yam iḍuvad=āgavum [1*] pañcavāra-v[āriya]t[tuk]kum poṉ-vā[ri]yattu-

14 kku=muppadu[17]=kkuḍumbilum[18] kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tīṭṭi muppadu vā[y-ō]lai-kaṭṭum puga [iṭ]ṭu mup[pa]du kuḍav-ōl[ai] paṟittu [19]muppadilum [20][paṉṉi]raṇḍu pēr [pa]ṟittu-kkoḷvad=[ā]gavum [1*] paṟitta paṉṉiraṇḍilum a[ṟu]var p[o]ṉ-vāriyam aṟuvār pañjavāra-vāriyamum āvanav=a[gavum] [1*] piṟṟai āṇḍum i-vāriya[ṅ]gaḷ kuḍav-ōlai paṟikkumbōdu i-vvāriyaṅgaḷukku muṉṉam śe-

15 yda kuḍumb=aṉṟikkē[21] niṉṟa kuḍumbilē karai paṟittu-kk[o]ḷ[va]d=āgavum [1*] kaḻudai ēṟiṉāraiyum kūḍalēgai śeydāṉaiyum kuḍav-ōlai [e]ḻudi=ppuga iḍa=ppeṟādad=āgavu[m*] [1*] madhyastharum arttha-śauśamm[22]=uḍaiyāṉē kaṇakk=eḻuduvāṉ=āga-vum kaṇak[k]=eḻudiṉāṉ kaṇakku=pperuṅguṟi=pperu-makkaḷōḍu kūḍa=kkaṇa[k]ku-[k]kāṭṭi śuddhan āccidiṉ-piṉṉ=aṉṟi maṟṟu=kkaṇa-

16 kku=ppuga peṟādāṉ=āgavum [1*] tāṉ eḻudiṉa ka[ṇakku]=ttāṉē kāṭṭuvāṉ=āgavum [1*] maṟṟu=kkaṇak[ka]r pukku o[ḍu]kka=ppeṟādā[r] āgavum [1*] i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal cantrādittavaṟ[23] eṉ[r]um kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad=āga Dēv[ē]ntran[24] cakrava[r*]tti [pa]ṇḍitavatssalan[25] kuñjaramallaṉ śūraśūḷāmaṇi kalpakaśaridai[26] śrī-Parakē[sa]ri[pa]nma [r ka][27] śrīmu[kha]m=[28]aruḷuccēdu varak[k]āṭṭa śrī-ā[ñ]aiā-

---

[1] The syllable *śi* is Grantha in the original.
[2] The letter *ma* appears to be corrected from *ka*.
[3] The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *=irunda*.
[4] The syllable *śi* is Grantha in the original.
[5] The letter *ś* of *śē* is Grantha in the original.
[6] Cancel the letter *m*; *ntō* is a group in the original.
[7] The word *vṛddharaiyum* is perhaps an interpolation made subsequently by the engraver himself.
[8] Read *-vṛddha*.°
[9] Read *saṁvatsara-*.
[10] The engraver seems to have first written the letter *l* and then corrected it into *p*; read *niṉṟāruṭ=paṉṉiruvarai=*.
[11] Cancel the second *m*.
[12] The akshara *va* of *koḷva* is entered below the line.
[13] Read *=jeyyāniṉṟārai*.
[14] The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.
[15] The *nta* of *ananta*° is a group in the original; cancel the first *m*.
[16] Read °*kṛtyaṅ=*.
[17] The second *pa* is corrected from *ta*.
[18] *Kuḍumbi*° is corrected from *kummili*.°
[19] The letters *dilu* are engraved over an erasure.
[20] The letter *ṉi* is engraved over an erasure.
[21] The first *k* of *aṉṟikkē* is entered below the line.
[22] Cancel the first *m*.
[23] Read *candrādityavat*.
[24] Read *Dēvēndraṉ*.
[25] Cancel the second *s*.
[26] In the original *kalpakaśari*° is Grantha; read °*caritai*.
[27] The corresponding passage in line 1 has °*vanmarudaya*.
[28] Read *=aruḷi*°.

17 l Śōḻa-nāṭṭu=Ppuṟaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Śrīvaṅganagar=Kkarañjai-K[o]ṇḍaya-[1][kra]mavitta-bhaṭṭaṉṉ[2]=āgiya Śōmāśiperumāṉ=uḍaṉ [3][i]rundu i-ppariśu śeyvikka na[m] grāmattukku [4]a[bhyu]tayam=āga duṣṭar keṭṭu viśiṣṭar va[r]ddhippad=āga vyavasth[ai] śeydōm Uttaramēru-ccaturvvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [1*] i-ppariśu kuṟiyuḷ irundu p[e]rummakkaḷ paṇikka vyavasthai eḻudiṉē[ṉ] madhyasthan

18 Kāḍaḍippōt[ta]ṉ Śivakkuṟi [5]Irājamallamaṁkalapriyanēṉ ıı—

(Lines 1-2.) Hail! Prosperity! On the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of king Parakēsarivarman, who conquered Madirai (*i.e.* Madura),—Whereas a royal letter of His Majesty, our lord, the glorious Vīranārāyaṇa, the illustrious Parāntakadēva, the prosperous Parakēsarivarman, was received and was shown to us, we, the (members of the) assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam in its own sub-division of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam,—Karañjai Koṇḍaya-kramavitta-bhaṭṭaṉ *alias* Śōmāśiperumāṉ[6] of Śrīvaṅga-nagar in Puṟaṅgarambai-nāḍu, (a district) of the Cōḻa country, sitting (with us) and convening (?) the committee in accordance with the (royal) command,—made[7] a settlement as follows according to (the terms of) the royal letter for choosing once every year from this year forward (members for) the 'annual committee,' 'garden committee,' and 'tank committee':—

(Lines 2-3.) I.[8] There shall be thirty wards.

II. In (these) thirty wards, those that live in each ward shall assemble and shall choose for 'pot-tickets' (*kuḍav-ōlai*) (anyone possessing the following qualifications):

(*a*) "He must own more than a quarter (*vēli*) of tax-paying land.

(*b*) "He must live in a house built on his own site.

(*c*) "His age must be below 70 and above 35.

(*d*) "He must know the Mantrabrāhmaṇa[9] (*i.e.*) he must know (it) by teaching (others[10]).

III. "Even if one owns only one-eighth (*vēli*) of land, (he shall have) his name[11] written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot), in case he has learnt one Vēda and one of the four *bhāṣyas* by explaining (it to others).

IV. Among those (possessing the foregoing qualifications)—

(*1*) "only such as are well conversant with business and are virtuous shall be taken and

---

[1] The akṣara *kra* of *kramavitta* appears to be written over an erasure.

[2] Cancel the first *ṉ*.

[3] The letter *i* is corrected from Grantha *ma*.

[4] In the original, the letters *abhyu* are Grantha; read *abhyudaya*°.

[5] An *akṣara* is erased before *ja* in the original.

[6] The word *śōmāśi* is a tadbhava of the Sanskṛt *sōmayājin*.

[7] The wording in line 17 makes it likely that the settlement was actually made by Śōmāśiperumāṉ and the village assembly very probably agreed to carry it out.

[8] This and the other marginal numbers and letters are not in the original, but are added for the sake of convenience.

[9] *I.e.* the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, not merely the Chāndōgyabrāhmaṇa which is also called Mantrabrāhmaṇa.

[10] This is the literal meaning of the phrase *ōduvitt-aṟivāṉ*. But the author perhaps wants to say 'one who can teach (others)' in which case the expression must be *ōduvikka aṟivāṉ*. The word *vakkāṇitt-aṟivāṉ* in line 4 below is also similarly used.

[11] The original has *avaṉai*, *i.e.* him. But to make the sentence intelligible I have translated the word by 'his name' in the light of what follows.

(*ii*) "one who possesses honest earnings, whose mind is pure and who has not been on (any of) the committees for the last three years[1] shall (also) be chosen.

(Lines 4-6.) "One[2] who has been on any of the committees but has not submitted his accounts, and all his relations specified below shall not have (their names) written on the pot-tickets and put[3] (into the pot):

(1) The sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother.[4]

(2) The sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle.

(3) The uterine brother of his mother.

(4) The uterine brother of his father.

(5) His uterine brother.

(6) His father-in-law.[5]

(7) The uterine brother of his wife.

(8) The husband of his uterine sister.

(9) The sons of his uterine sister.

(10) The son-in-law who has married his daughter.

(11) His father.

(12) His son.

(Lines 6-9.) A. "One against whom incest[6] (*agamyāgamana*) or the first four of the five great sins[7] are recorded; and

B. "All his relations above specified[8] shall not have (their names) written on the pot-tickets and put into (the pot).

C. "One who has been outcast for association (with low people) shall not, until he performs the expiatory ceremonies, have (his name) chosen for the pot-ticket.

D. "One who is foolhardy, ... shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot).

E. "One who has stolen the property of others shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot).

F. "One who has taken forbidden dishes (?) of any kind[9] and who has become pure by performing the ghee expiation (?)[10] shall not to the end of his life have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot) for the committees.

G. "One who has committed . . . . sins and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies;

---

[1] See note 6 on page 138.

[2] The writer uses the plural here, but subsequently lapses into the singular number about the end of the next line. I have for the sake of uniformity used the singular.

[3] The words *puga iḍa* may also be translated 'to appoint in order to enter (the committee).'

[4] The original has *śiṟṟ-avai* 'younger mother' and *pēr-avai* 'elder mother.' As paternal cousins would be differently described, I have taken the words to refer to maternal cousins.

[5] Literally 'the uncle who has given his daughter (in marriage).'

[6] If a man guilty of incest performed the prescribed expiatory ceremonies, the prohibition against his relations was removed; see clause I of this paragraph (on next page).

[7] The five great sins are: (1) killing a brāhmaṇa, (2) drinking intoxicating liquors, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes; Manu, XI, 55.

[8] This evidently refers to the foregoing enumeration of relations.

[9] Manu (XI, 57) declares this as equivalent to drinking intoxicating liquor.

[10] *Kṛtaprāyaścitta* is perhaps a mistake for *ghṛtaprāyaścitta*. Manu prescribes the drinking of hot ghee as an expiation for sins more than once; see, for instance, XI, 215.

H. " One who having been a village pest has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies ;

I. " One who is guilty of incest and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies ; all these thus specified shall not, to the end of their lives, have (their names) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot) for (any of the) committees."

(Lines 9-11.) " Excluding all these, thus specified, names shall be written for 'pot-tickets' in the thirty wards and each of the wards in these twelve streets (of Uttaramallūr) shall prepare a separate covering ticket for (each of the) thirty wards bundled separately. (These packets ?) shall be put into a pot. When the pot-tickets have to be drawn, a full meeting of the great assembly,[1] including the young and old (members), shall be convened. All the temple priests (*nambimār*), who happen to be in the village on the day, shall, without any exception whatever, be caused to be seated in the inner hall, (where) the great assembly (meets). In the midst of the temple priests, one of them, who happens to be the eldest, shall stand up and lift that pot, looking upwards so as to be seen by all people. One ward (*i.e.*, the packet representing it) shall be taken out by any young boy standing close, who does not know what is inside, and shall be transferred to another (empty) pot and shaken. From this pot one ticket shall be drawn (by the young boy ?) and made over to the arbitrator (*madhyastha*). While taking charge of the ticket thus given (to him), the arbitrator shall receive it on the palm of his hand with the five fingers open. He shall read out (the name on) the ticket thus received. The ticket read (by him) shall (also) be read out by all the priests present in the inner hall. The name thus read out shall be put down (and accepted). Similarly one man shall be chosen for (each of) the thirty wards."

(Lines 11-13.) " Of the thirty men thus chosen, those who had (previously) been on the 'garden committee' and on the 'tank committee,' those who are advanced in learning, and those who are advanced in age shall be chosen for the 'annual committee.'[2] Of the rest, twelve shall be taken for the 'garden committee' and the remaining six shall form the 'tank committee.' These (last) two committees shall be chosen by showing the *karai*.[3] The great men of these three committees thus (chosen) for them shall hold office for full three hundred and sixty days and (then) retire. When one who is on the committees is found guilty of (any) offence, he shall be removed (at once). For appointing the committees after these have retired, the members of the 'committee for supervision of justice' in the twelve streets (of Uttaramallūr) shall convene an assembly (*kuṛi*)[4] with the help of the arbitrator. The committees shall be appointed by drawing pot-tickets . . . . . according to this order of settlement."

---

[1] The assembly here gets the epithet *tiruvaḍiyār*, 'their majesties,' which is omitted in the translation.

[2] The accusative *saṁvatsara-vāriyaraiyum* has to be taken in the sense of *saṁvatsara-vāriyar-āga*.

[3] *Karai* in Tamil means 'stain, bank, shore, border, speech.' The expression *karai-kāṭṭi*, which is here used, must be synonymous with *karai-paṛittu* in line 15. These two terms appear to denote some method of selection easier and shorter than the tedious one of pot-tickets described at length in the inscription. Perhaps they mean something like 'oral expression of opinion,' which may be derived from the meaning 'speech,' given for the word *karai* by Winslow.

[4] For this meaning of the word *kuṛi* see *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 17 ; compare also *peruṅguṛi* in line 15.

(Lines 13-16.) "For the '*pañca-vāra* committee'[1] and the 'gold committee,' names shall be written for pot-tickets in the thirty wards, thirty (packets with) covering tickets shall be deposited (in a pot) and thirty pot-tickets shall be drawn (as previously described). From (these) thirty (tickets) twelve men shall be selected. Six out of twelve (thus) chosen shall form the 'gold committee' and the (remaining) six the '*pañca-vāra* committee.' When drawing pot-tickets for these (two) committees next year, the wards which have been already represented (during the year in question) on these committees shall be excluded and the selection made from the remaining wards by drawing the *karai*.[2] One who has ridden on an ass[3] and one who has committed forgery shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put (into the pot)."

"Any arbitrator who possesses honest earnings shall write the accounts (of the village). No accountant shall be appointed to that office again before he submits his accounts[4] (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big committee and (is declared) to have been honest. The accounts which one has been writing, he shall submit himself and no other accountant shall be chosen to close his accounts."

(Line 16.) "Thus, from this year onwards, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), committees shall always be appointed by 'pot-tickets' alone. To this effect was the royal letter received and shown (to us), graciously issued by the lord of gods, the emperor, one who is fond of learned men, the wrestler with elephants, the crest jewel of heroes, whose acts (*i.e.* gifts) (resembles those of) the celestial tree, the glorious Parakēsarivarman."

(Lines 16-17.) "At the royal command Karañjai Koṇḍaya-kramavitta-bhaṭṭaṉ *alias* Śōmāśiperumāṉ of Śrīvaṅganagar in Puṟaṅgarambai-nāḍu[5] (a district) of the Cōla country sat with (us) and thus caused[6] (this settlement) to be made."

(Lines 17-18.) "We, the (members of the) assembly of Uttaramēru-caturvēdimaṅgalam, made (this) settlement for the prosperity of our village in order that wicked men may perish and the rest may prosper."

At the order of the great men sitting in the assembly, I, the arbitrator Kāḍaḍippōttaṉ Śivakkuṟi-Rājamallamaṅgalapriyaṉ thus wrote the settlement.

V. VENKAYYA.

---

[1] Professor Kielhorn translates *pañca-vāra* by 'committee of five;' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 138. But as the number of members of this committee is fixed at six later on in this inscription this translation cannot be accepted. Perhaps it supervised the five committees (*pañca-vāra*) of the village. It is possible that originally there were only five committees in a village and the work of these was supervised by the *pañca-vāra* committee. In the Telugu country it appears to have been a special honour to be placed on this committee and this honour was probably due to its supervising the work of the other committees. Later on, the number of village committees seems to have been increased and there appear to be more than five committees. Even after this alteration the original name *pañca-vāra-vāriyam* given to the supervising committee was probably retained unaltered.

[2] See note 3 on page 144.

[3] Riding on an ass is apparently a punishment for some offence. It is implied in Manu (XI, 202) that driving in a waggon drawn by an ass is a sin.

[4] The word *kaṇakku* is unnecessarily repeated after *kūḍa* in line 15.

[5] According to the large Leyden plates, which also mention Vaṅganagar (l. 141f.), this district belonged to Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu.

[6] The later settlement appears to have been actually drawn up by the king's officer and formally accepted by the assembly.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of Publication.
INDIA*—		
1. Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1869.
2. Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, etc., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole .	1870.
3. Four reports made during the years, 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India	Government Central Press, Simla, 1871.
4. Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
5. Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
6. Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., late Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1873.
7. "Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto.
8. Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistants, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1874.

* NOTE—The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India), which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in this list.
The reports of the New Imperial Series, which began in 1874 and are still in progress, are marked (N. I. S.).

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
9. Report of the first season's operations in the Belgâm and Kaladgi districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1874.
10. The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	Wyman & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
11. Report for the year 1872-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.
12. Report on the antiquities of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh. (N.I.S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
13. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Volume I, Inscriptions of Asoka.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1877.
14. The Rock Temples of Elura or Verul.	J. Burgess . . .	1877.
15. Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1878.
16. Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72; and 1872-73, Volume VI. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1878.
17. Report of a tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in the Central Provinces, 1873-74, Volume VII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
18. Report of a tour through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, and Bhagalpur; The Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Birbhum; Bankura, Raniganj, Bardwan, and Hughli in 1872-73, Volume VIII. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
19. Pali, Sanskrit, and old Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Maisur, arranged and explained.	J. F. Fleet, Bombay Civil Service, and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1878.
20. The Stūpa of Bharhut; a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B.C.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1879.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
21. Report of tours in Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1879.
22. Report of a tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75, Volume IX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
23. Report of tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77, Volume X. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1880.
24. Report of tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78, Volume XI. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
25. Report on the Amarávati tope and excavations on its site in 1877.	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1880.
26. The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume II.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1880.
27. The Cave Temples of India .	J. Fergusson and J. Burgess	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1880.
28. First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1882.
29. Report of tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XIII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1882.
30. Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Volume XIV. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
31. Report of a tour in Bihar and Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon, Volume XV. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
32. Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
33. Preliminary reports by Curator, Ancient Monuments in India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
(*a*) Madras Presidency—		
The Seven Pagodas . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*a*) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
Velur	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Trichinopoly	Ditto	Ditto.
Srirangam	Ditto	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto	Ditto.
Kombakonam	Ditto	Ditto.
Chillambaram	Ditto	Ditto.
Conjeveram	Ditto	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto	Ditto.
(*b*) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto	Ditto.
(*c*) Bijapur	Ditto	Ditto.
(*d*) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto	Ditto.
(*e*) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
Kalburgah	Ditto	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*f*) Punjab—		
(Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusafzai, with a description of the explorations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and suggestions for the disposal of the sculptures.)	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
34. Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
35. Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
36. Report of tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81, Volume XVI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
37. Preservation of National Monuments—Fortress Gwalior.	J. B. Keith, Superintending Monumental Preservation.	Ditto.
38. Catalogue and Hand-Book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I—Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.	J. Anderson, Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Ditto.
39. Ditto ditto, Part II—Gupta and Inscription Galleries.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
40. Report of a tour in Gorakhpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77, Volume XVIII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
41. Report on the Elura cave temples and the other Brahmanical and Jaina caves in Western India. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
42. Report of a tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82, Volume XVII. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1884.
43. Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1884.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
44. Preservation of National Monuments, India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Plates prepared in Paris, 1884-85.
(*a*) Agra and Gwalior . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Delhi	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*e*) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*f*) Meywar	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*g*) Buildings of the Punjab .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*h*) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*j*) The temples at Trichinopoly	Ditto . .	Ditto.
45. Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1883-84.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1885.
46. Report of a tour through Bihar, Central India, Peshawar, and Yusufzai, during 1881-82, Vol. XIX. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
47. Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83, Vol. XX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
48. Reports of a tour in Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84 and of a tour in Rewa, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwalior in 1884-85, Vol XXI. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
49. Report of tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur in 1877-78-79 and 80, Vol. XXII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
50. Report of a tour in the Punjab and Râjpûtâna in 1883-84, Vol. XXIII. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1887.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
51. General Index to the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Vols. I—XXIII. (C. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
52. The Buddhist stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, with translations of the Asoka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., etc.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1887.
53. List(s) of photographs of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities.	......	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
54. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. (Gupta Inscriptions.)	J. F. Fleet	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1888.
55. The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Assistant.	Ditto, 1889.
56. Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details; Parts I—X.	Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. .	Griggs & Sons, London, 1890-98.
57. South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. I). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1890.
58. List of photographic negatives of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities in the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.	J. Wood-Mason and J. D. Beglar.	1890.
59. South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. II). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1891-95.
60. The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891.
61. Epigraphia Indica of the Archæological Survey of India (Vol. I). (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1892.
62. Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi tree, at Buddha Gaya.	A. Cunningham, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1892.
63. Epigraphia Indica of the Archæological Survey of India (Vol. II). (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1894.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
64. Notes on the Antiquities, Ethnography, and History of Las Bela and Mekran.	T. H. Holdich, Superintendent, Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1894.
65. South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1894.
66. List of Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg. (N. I. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
67. List of photographic negatives belonging to the India Office.	......	Ditto.
68. Bower Manuscripts. (N. I. S.) .	A. Hœrnle, Principal, Calcutta Madrassah.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1893-97.
69. The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri, Parts I—IV. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1894-98.
70. On the Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1896.
71. Châlukyan Architecture, including examples from the Ballâri District, Madras Presidency. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1896.
72. Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berâr. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1897.
73. Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1897.
74. Revised lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1897.
75. South Indian Inscriptions (Volume III, Part I). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1899.
76. A list of photographic negatives of Indian antiquities in the collection of the Indian Museum with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India Office.	Dr. T. Bloch, 1st Assistant Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*concld.*		
77. Lists of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's territories. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900.
78. The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part I. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1900.
79. Report on results of explorations in the Nepal Tarai, Part I. (N. I. S.)	P. C. Mukherji, lately employed on Archæological explorations under the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1901.
80. The Jaina Stūpa and some other Antiquities of Mathurâ. (N. I. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Government Press, United Provinces, 1901.
81. Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, Part I. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto.
82. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat.	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1903.
83. Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India for the year 1902-03, Parts I and II.	J. H. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1904.
84. Ditto for the year 1903-04, Parts I and II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905-06.
85. Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part I.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.
MADRAS—		
86. Notes on the Amaravatī Stūpa .	J. Burgess, Government Archæological Surveyor for Western and Southern India.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
87. Notes and Inscriptions from Temples in the Madura District, Vol. IV.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1885-86.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MADRAS—*contd.*		
88. Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions with some notes on village antiquities collected chiefly in the south of the Madras Presidency.	J. Burgess, Government Archæological Surveyor for Western and Southern India.	Government Press, Madras, 1886.
89. List of ancient monuments for conservation in the Madras Presidency in 1884.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1886-87.
90. List of ancient monuments selected for conservation in the Madras Presidency in 1891.	A. Rea, Archæological Surveyor, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1891.
91. Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, 1894-95.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1895.
92. Ditto, Vol. IV, 1896-97	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
93. Ditto, " V, 1898-99	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1899.
94. Ditto, " VI, 1900-01	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
95. Ditto, " VII, 1902-03	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
96. List of tombs and monuments of Europeans, etc., in the Madras District.	Government of Madras .	Government Press, Madras, 1898.
97. List of tombs and monuments erected in Madras.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
98. List of statues, monuments and busts erected in Madras in honour of distinguished servants of the State.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
99. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Madras and Coorg, for the year 1899-1900.	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1900.
100. Ditto, 1900-01 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
101. Ditto, 1901-02 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
102. Ditto, 1902-03 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
103. Ditto, 1903-04 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
104. Ditto, 1904-05 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
105. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1905-06.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MADRAS—*concld.*		
106. Report on Epigraphical work accomplished from July 1891 to June 1892.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1892.
107. Ditto July 1892 to June 1893.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1893.
108. Ditto do. 1893 to do. 1894.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
109. Ditto do. 1894 to do. 1895.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1895.
110. Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
111. Ditto do. 1896 to do. 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
112. Ditto do. 1897 to do. 1898.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
113. Ditto do. 1898 to do. 1899.	V. Venkayya, 1st Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1899.
114. Ditto do. 1899 to do. 1900.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
115. Ditto do 1900 to do. 1901.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1901.
116. Ditto do. 1901 to do. 1902.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
117. Ditto do. 1902 to do. 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
118. Ditto do. 1903 to do. 1904.	V. Venkayya, Officiating Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1904.
119. Ditto do. 1904 to do. 1905.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
120. Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1905-06.	V. Venkayya, Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy.	Ditto, 1906.
BOMBAY—		
121. The Antiquities of the Kolaba Agency. (Ser. 330. Sel. Rec. Bombay, N. S. No. 7.)	......	1854.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*contd.*		
122. The Antiquities of Kolhapoor illustrated. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec. Bombay, N. S. No. 8.)	......	1854.
123. Extracts in connection with Mahomedan Architecture at Beejapoor, in the Satara Districts, etc. (1854). (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec. Bombay, N. S. No. 40.)	......	1857.
124. Observations on inscriptions on copper-plates dug up at Naroor, in the Koodal Division of the Sawunt Waree State, 1848; with translations and facsimiles, 1851. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec. Bombay, N. S. No. 10.)	Major G. LeG. Jacob .	1855.
125. Rock-cut Temples of Western India.	J. Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.	Cundall & Downes, London, 1864.
126. Report on the illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India, etc.	Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Fergusson, General Cunningham, and Colonel Meadows Taylor.	1869.
127. Notes to accompany a series of photographs designed to illustrate the Ancient Architecture of Western India.	Captain Lyon, late of Her Majesty's 68th Regiment of Light Infantry.	Carey Brothers, Old College Street, 3, Geneva, 1871.
128. Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, and J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1874.
129. Memorandum on the antiquities at Dabhoi, Ahmedabad, Than, Junagaḍh, Girnar, and Dhank.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1875.
130. Memorandum on the remains at Gumli, Gop, and in Kachh, etc.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
131. Provisional lists of Architectural and other Archæological remains in Western India, including the Bombay Presidency, Sindh, Berar, Central Provinces, and Hyderabad.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
132. Translations of inscriptions from Belgaum and Kalâdgi Districts in the report of the first season's operations of the Archæological Survey of Western India and of inscriptions from Kathiawar and Kachh.	J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S., and Hari Vaman Limaya, B.A.	Ditto, 1876.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*contd.*		
133. Buddhist Caves of Ajanta. Second edition.	Prepared by Major R. Gill and revised by James Burgess, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1876.
134. Notes on the antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole, and Kopergaum forming the charge of the 2nd Assistant Collector, Ahmadnagar, with revised lists of remains in the Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kaládgi Zillahs.	W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1877.
135. Architectural and Archæological remains in Khandesh in 1877.	W. H. Propert, Collector of Khandesh.	Ditto.
136. Reports (from the Collectors) regarding the Archæological remains in the Karachi, Haidarabad, and Shikarpur Collectorates in Sindh, with plans of tombs.	......	Ditto.
137. Report on the Architectural and Archæological remains in the Province of Kachh, with 5 papers by the late Sir Alex. Burnes. (Selections from the records of the Bombay Government, No. CLII, new series.)	Dalpatram Pranjivan Khakhar.	Ditto.
138. Notes on the Buddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bagh Caves, modern Buddha Mythology, etc.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Ditto.
139. Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes, etc.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit.	Ditto, 1881.
140. Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, Sindh and Berâr, with an Appendix of inscriptions from Gujarat.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1885.
141. Scheme for the protection and conservation of ancient buildings in and around the City of Ahmedabad.	A. W. Crawley-Boevy, C.S.	Education Society's Press, Bombay, 1886.
142. List of Photographs of ancient buildings and antiquities, Bombay.	......	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*contd*		
143. The Antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat.	James Burgess, LL.D., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	George Waterston & Sons, Edinburgh, 1888.
144. List of Photographic Negatives of ancient buildings and antiquities of the Bombay Presidency.	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1888.
145. List of Photographic Negatives of the paintings copied from the Ajanta Caves between 1872 and 1885 at the Government School of Art, Bombay. Supplement to the Bombay List of Photographic Negatives.	James Burgess . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
146. Bijapur Guide . . .	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Orphanage Press, Poona, 1889.
147. Notes on the buildings and other antiquarian remains at Bijapur, with translations of the inscriptions.	H. Cousens, Archæological Surveyor, Western India, and E. Rehatsek.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1890.
148. An account of the Caves at Nadsur and Karsambla.	H. Cousens, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Ditto, 1891.
149. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the months of December 1889 to April 1890.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1890.
150. Ditto for the months of May 1890 to April 1891.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1891.
151. Ditto for the months of May 1891 to April 1892.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1892.
152. Ditto for the months of May 1892 to April 1893.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1893.
153. Ditto for the months of May 1893 to April 1894.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
154. Ditto for the months of May 1894 to August 1895.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1895.
155. Ditto for the months of September 1895 to April 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
156. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*concld.*		
157. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1898.	H. Cousens, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1898.
158. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1899.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1899.
159. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
160. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
161. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
162. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
163. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1904.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
164. Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1905.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905.
165. Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the months July to March 1906, inclusive.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.
166. Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India. Volume I (Pictorial subjects).	John Griffiths, late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	W. Griggs, London, 1896.
167. Ditto ditto, Volume II (Decorative details).	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
BENGAL—		
168. Account of a visit to Mount Parisnath (in Chutia Nagpoor) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1827. (Ser. 250. Sel. Rec. Bengal, No. 38.)	A. P.	1861.
169. Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna.	A. M. Broadley, B.C.S. .	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872.
170. Report on the Archæology of the District of Midnapore.	H. L. Harrison, B.C.S. .	Ditto, 1873.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BENGAL—*contd.*		
171. Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Śákya Muni.	Rájendralála Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1878.
172. List of objects of antiquarian interest in Bengal.	......	Ditto, 1879.
173. A List of the objects of antiquarian interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (with historical descriptions).	......	Ditto, 1879.
174. Revised list of ancient monuments in Bengal, 1886.	Government of Bengal, P.W. Department, assisted by J. D. Beglar and W. B. B.	Ditto, 1887.
175. Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District.	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto, 1891.
176. Discovery of the exact site of Aśoka's classic Capital of Pātaliputra, the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains.	L. A. Waddell, M.B. . .	Ditto, 1892.
177. A Brief History of the Bodh Gaya Math.	Rai Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh, Bahadur.	Ditto, 1893.
178. Sikkim Gazetteer	......	Ditto, 1894.
179. Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District with an explanatory Index (Reprint).	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
180. List of Statues, Monuments, and Busts in Calcutta of Historical interest.	......	Ditto.
181. List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments possessing historical or archæological interest.	C. R. Wilson, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896.
182. List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal—Revised and corrected up to 31st August 1895.	......	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1896.
183. List of ancient monuments :—		
Dacca Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Rajshahi Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Orissa Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Chota Nagpur Division . .	......	Ditto.
Bhagalpur Division . .	......	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BENGAL—*concld.*		
Chittagong Division . .	......	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1896.
Burdwan Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Patna Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Presidency Division . .	......	Ditto.
184. Report with photographs of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhūbānēsvār and caves in the Khāndāgiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, between 1898 and 1903.	M. H. Arnott, M.Inst.C.E., Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works.	Waterlow & Sons, Limited, London W., 1903.
185. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year 1900-01.	T. Bloch, Archæological Surveyor, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901.
186. Ditto for the year ended April 1902.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
187. Ditto for the year ended April 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
188. Ditto for the year ended April 1904.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
189. Ditto for the year ended April 1905.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905.
190. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1905-06.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.
UNITED PROVINCES—		
191. Description of the antiquities at Kalinjar.	F. Maisey	Baptist Mission Press, 1848.
192. List of Photographic Negatives of the monumental antiquities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
193. Progress Reports of the Epigraphical and Architectural Branches of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from October 1889 till 30th June 1891.	Ditto . . .	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1892.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
UNITED PROVINCES—*contd.*		
194. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year 1891-92.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor.	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1892.
195. Ditto for the year ending June 1893.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1893.
196. Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
197. Ditto for the year ending June 1895.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1895.
198. Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
199. Ditto for the year ending June 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
200. Ditto for the year ending June 1898.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
201. Ditto for the year ending June 1899.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S.; and E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1899.
202. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1900.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1900.
203. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1901.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
204. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	......	Government Press, United Provinces, 1902.
205. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	E. B. S. Shepherd, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1903.
206. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	W. H. Nicholls, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1904.
207. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
208. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
UNITED PROVINCES—*concld.*		
209. List of Christian tombs, and monuments of archæological and historical interest and their inscriptions, in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.
210. The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S. . .	Ditto.
211. Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London, 1897.
212. Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Poorno Chander Mukherji .	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1899.
213. Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
PUNJAB—		
214. Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	......	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
215. Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey.	......
216. Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator .	1889.
217. Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	W. Ball & Co., Lahore, 1891.
218. List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein . .	1899.
219. Revised list of objects of Archæological interest in the Punjab.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.
220. Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
PUNJAB—*concld.*		
221. Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Punjab Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.
222. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
223. Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1904.
224. Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto . .	Economical Press, Lahore, 1905.
225. Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
N.-W. F. PROVINCE—		
226. Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamalgarhi during the months of March and April 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 12th February 1874.)	Lieut. A. Crompton, R.E. .	1874.
227. Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E. .	1874.
228. Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusafzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wilcher, R.E.	1874.
229. Report on the explorations at mound Shahji-ka-dheri near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
N. W. F. PROVINCE—*concld.*		
230. Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E. .	1876.
231. Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieutenant C. Maxwell, R.E.	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
232. Memorandum on excavations at Sikri, Yusafzai.	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1889.
233. Detailed report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.	Ditto, 1898.
234. Report of Archæological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the period from January 2nd, 1904, to March 31st, 1905.	M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Inspector General of Education and Archæological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	Government Press, North-West Frontier Province, 1905.
BURMA—		
235. List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1880.
236. Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—		
I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1883.
II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvarnabhumi.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1884.
237. List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
238. Reports on Archæological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review dated 18th June 1889.)	Dr. E. Forchhammer . .	1889.
239. The Po U Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
240. List of objects of Antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*contd.*		
241. List of objects of antiquarian interest in Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1892.
242. Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
243. Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
244. Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
245. The Kalyani Inscriptions . .	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
246. Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
247. Note on a tour in Burma in March and April, 1892.	F. O. Oertel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.
248. Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
249. A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinbyuyin, 1774 A.D.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
250. A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
251. Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality, Burma.	Ditto, 1894.
252. Some remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
253. Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1897.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*concld.*		
254. Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava. Translation with notes.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1899.
255. Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto, 1900-1903.
256. Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum, Vol. I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
257. List of objects of antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
258. List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
259. Report on Archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
260. Ditto, for the year 1902-03 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
261. Ditto, for the year 1903-04 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
262. Ditto, for the year 1904-05 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
263. Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
MYSORE AND COORG—		
264. Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
265. Coorg Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.
266. Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore.	Ditto, 1889.
267. Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
268. Ditto, Part II	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
269. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kadur District.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Ditto, 1901.
270. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	Ditto . .	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MYSORE AND COORG—*concld.*		
271. Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscriptions in the Simoga District, Parts I and II.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
272. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug district.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
273. Inscriptions at Tumkur . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
274. Inscriptions at Kolar . . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
ASSAM—		
275. Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
276. List of Archæological remains in the Province of Assam.	....	Ditto, 1902.

List of public libraries, etc., to which copies of the Director-General's Annual Report, Part II, are regularly supplied.

1.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA.

UNITED KINGDOM.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
London University Library, Imperial Institute, London, S. W.
Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3, Hanover Sq., London, W.
Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
Edinburgh " " Edinburgh.
Glasgow " " Glasgow.
Aberdeen " " Aberdeen.
Trinity College Library, Dublin.
Folklore Society, 11, Old Square Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, London.
Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, W.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
The Royal " Windsor Castle, Berks.
Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London.
Royal Society, Edinburgh.
Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.
National Library of Ireland, Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin.
Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London.
Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen St., Edinburgh.
Imperial Institute, London.
Indian Institute, Oxford.
Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.
The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.
Royal Indian Engineering College, Coopers Hill, Englifield Green, Surrey.
Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Institut de France, Paris.
Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iéna, Paris.

GERMANY.

Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.
Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.
Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenchaftēn zu Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.
Hungarian Academy, Buda-Pesth.

ITALY.

Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome.
R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
The Società Asiatica Italiana Firenze.
British School at Rome.
American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.
Royal Institute of Netherlands India, The Hague, Holland.
Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.
Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.
University Library, Upsala, Sweden.
" " Christiania, Norway.
British School at Athens, Greece.
La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

AMERICA.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.

BRITISH COLONIES.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.
Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.
Melbourne Library, Melbourne.
University Library, Sydney, New South Wales.
Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.
North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.
Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo, Egypt.
Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

(1) Imperial.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

(2) Provincial.

MADRAS.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.
University " Madras.
Public " "
Presidency College, "
School of Art, "
Government Central Museum, Madras.
Christian College Library, "

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.
University " "
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
School of Art, Bombay.
The College of Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.
Presidency College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.
Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.
University " Allahabad.
Public Library, Allahabad.
Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.
Sanskrit College, Benares.
Thomason College, Roorkee.

PUNJAB.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.
Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
Museum Library, Lahore.
University Library, Lahore.
Government College Library, Lahore.
Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.
Museum Library, Peshawar.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.
The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.
The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.
Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor-General, Indore.
The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.
Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajmer.
College Library, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.

CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
8 HASTINGS STREET